

NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE WITH MUSEUM
BULGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

P R A E

**In Honorem
Henrieta
Todorova**

Edited by

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СЪДЪРЖАНИЕ TABLE OF CONTENTS

Rasho Rashev Introduction	vii
Рашо Рашев Уводни думи	vii
Christina Angelova, Mark. Stefanovich Henrieta Todorova	ix
Христина Ангелова, Марк Стефанович Хенриета Тодорова	ix
Кратка Биография	xxiii
Библиография на публикациите	xxv
Tabula Gratulatori	xliii
Henrieta Todorova, friends and colleagues	xliv
Хенриета Тодорова, колеги и приятели	xliv
 Харалд Хауптман	 1
Нови данни за неолитизацията на Предна Азия <i>Harald Hauptmann</i> <i>New Data About the Neolitization of the Southwest Asia</i>	
Pasko Kusmen	23
Die Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Ochrid-Struga Region <i>Паско Кузмен</i> <i>Праисторията и ранната история на Охридско-Стругския район</i>	
Raiko Krauß	31
Zur Zeitstellung der Fundstellen bei den Pobiti Kamăni (Kreis Varna) <i>Райко Краус</i> <i>За датирането на находките от Побитите Камъни, Варненско</i>	
Gezine Schwarz-Mackensen	37
“Zierat oder Zeichen?” Zum neolithischen Ornament am Beispiel der Pueblo-Keramik des nordamerikanischen Südwestens <i>Gezine Schwarz-Mackensen</i> <i>Ornaments or Signs? The Neolithic decorations in the light of Pueblo Ceramics from the Northern American Southwest</i>	
Malgozhata Grebska-Kulov	47
The Polychromatic Ceramics from the Valley of Middle Struma <i>Малгожата Гребска-Кулов</i> <i>Полихромната керамика от долината на средна Струма</i>	
Alexander Häusler	55
Zu den Bestattungssitten der Tripol’e-Kultur und der neolithischen-ăneolithischen Kulturen Südosteuropas <i>Александър Хойзлер</i> <i>По въпроса за погребалните обичаи на Триполската култура и на неолитните и енеолитни култури на Югоизточна Европа</i>	
Явор Д. Бояджиев	79
Плоски костени фигурки от енеолитната епоха <i>Yavor D. Boyadjiev</i> <i>Flattish bone Figurine from the Eneolithic Period</i>	
Stefan Chohadzhiev	95
Three-finger Anthropomorphic Images from the Struma River Basin <i>Стефан Чохаджиев</i> <i>Трипръстни антропоморфни изображения от басейна на р. Струма</i>	

Borislav Jovanović	99
Proto-Krivodol Phase and the Late Vinča Culture	
<i>Борислав Йованович</i>	
<i>Фазата Прото-Криводол и късната култура Винча</i>	
Георги Ганецовски	103
Керамика от праисторическото селище Криводол–Тепето	
<i>Georgi Ganetsovski</i>	
<i>A Pottery from the Prehistoric Settlement Krivodol–Tepeto</i>	
Георги Александров†	131
Нови данни за металообработването в района на Монтана	
<i>Georgi Alexandrov†</i>	
<i>New data about metal-working in the area of Montana</i>	
Vencislav Gergov	135
Die pastös bemalte Keramik	
aus der finalkupferzeitlichen Siedlung Teliš–Redutite, Zentral-Nordbulgarien	
<i>Венцислав Гергов</i>	
<i>Пастозно рисувана керамика от праисторическото селище Телиш–Редутите</i>	
Maya Avramova	139
More Gold From The Chalcolithic Age	
<i>Мая Аврамова</i>	
<i>Още златни находки от халколита</i>	
Ivan Ivanov†, Maya Avramova	141
Two New Chalcolithic Copper Axes Discovered in Bulgaria	
<i>Иван Иванов†, Мая Аврамова</i>	
<i>Две нови халколитни медни брадви от България</i>	
Kalin Dimitrov	145
Stone scepters type Zoomorphic scepters from Sozopol.	
Steppe influences on the West Black Sea coast in the beginning of the IV mill. BC	
<i>Калин Димитров</i>	
<i>Зооморфно изображение от типа на Каменните скиптри от Созопол.</i>	
<i>Степни влияния в западночерноморското крайбрежие от началото на IV хил.пр.Хр.</i>	
Pal Patay	159
Die kupferezeitliche Siedlung Tiszaúc-Sarkad	
<i>Пал Патай</i>	
<i>Енеолитното селище Тисалук-Саркад</i>	
Milutin Garašanin†	173
Betrachtungen zur Beginn der mitteleuropäischen Bronzezeit auf den Zentralbalkan	
<i>Милутин Гарашанин†</i>	
<i>Относно началото на средноевропейската Бронзова епоха в Централнобалканската зона</i>	
Paul Ambert, Jean-Roger Bourhis, Jacques Happ	181
Cabrières (France): Mines et Metallurgie au III ^e Millenaire B.C.	
Apports de la Metallurgie Experimentale	
<i>Paul Ambert, Jean-Roger Bourhis, Jacques Happ</i>	
<i>Cabrières (France): III^e Millenium B.C. mines and copper metallurgy. Experimental metallurgic's results</i>	
Иван Гацов	191
Предварителни резултати от анализ на каменната колекция	
от праисторическо селище Yeni Bademli, Република Турция	
<i>Ivan Gatsov</i>	
<i>Preliminary Reports of Analysis of Stone Collection from Prehistoric Settlement Yeni Bademli, Turkey</i>	
Кънчо Кънчев	197
Челни стъргалки от неолита до бронзовата епоха в България	
(Типолого-морфометричен и функционален обзор)	
<i>Kancho Kanchev</i>	
<i>Endscrapers from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age in Bulgaria</i>	
<i>(Typological-Morphometrical Survey)</i>	
Mehmet Özdoğan	203
The Black Sea, the Sea of Marmara and Bronze Age Archaeology:	
an Archaeological Predicament	
<i>Мехмет Йоздоган</i>	
<i>Черно море, Мраморно море и археологията на бронзовата епоха: един археологически проблем</i>	

Olaf Höckmann	215
Zu Lanzen spitzen ägäischer Art aus Bulgarien	
<i>Olaf Höckmann</i>	
<i>Aegean spearheads in MBA Bulgaria</i>	
Stefan Alexandrov	225
Bronze Age Materials From Bagacina (North-west Bulgaria)	
<i>Стефан Александров</i>	
<i>Материали от бронзовата епоха от Багачина (Северозападна България)</i>	
Георги Иванов	249
Относно хронологията на некрополите	
на култура Брница в Централните Балкани	
<i>Georgi Ivanov</i>	
<i>About the Chronology of the Brnica culture necropoleis in the Central Balkans</i>	
Татяна Кънчева-Русева	259
Колективна находка от глинени съдове в праисторическото селище	
от бронзовата епоха в Нова Загора	
<i>Tatyana Kuncheva-Ruseva</i>	
<i>Collective find from pottery in the bronze age prehistoric village in the town of Nova Zagora</i>	
Georgi Kitov	265
Tombs of Thracian Kings in the Region of Kazanluk	
<i>Георги Китов</i>	
<i>Гробници на тракийски царе в Казанлъшко</i>	
Milena Tonkova	279
Jewellery Fashion of the Western Pontic Colonies in the Hellenistic Times	
(from the territory of Bulgaria)	
<i>Милена Тонкова</i>	
<i>Ювелирството в западнопонтийските колонии през елинистическата епоха</i>	
<i>(от територията на България)</i>	
Brendan MacCongail	295
Belgae Expansion Into South Eastern Europe and Asia Minor (4th–3rd century B.C.)	
<i>Брендан Макконгал</i>	
<i>Експанзията на белгите в Югоизточна Европа и Мала Азия (IV–III в. пр. Хр.)</i>	
Mark Stefanovich	303
Hoards, Caravans and Illyrians: Wealth Accumulation in Antiquity	
<i>Марк Стефанович</i>	
<i>Съкровища, кервани и илири: натрупването на богатства през древността</i>	
Spasimir Tonkov, Elisaveta Bozhilova, Hristina Panovska	311
Cerealia pollen evidence from pollen diagrams and palaeoethnobotany in Bulgaria	
<i>Спасимир Тонков, Елисавета Божилова, Христина Пановска</i>	
<i>Житния полен в поленовите диаграми и палеоетноботаниката на България</i>	
Мери Ковачева, В. Карлуковски	319
Археомагнитни проучвания: резултати и проблеми	
<i>Mery Kovacheva, V. Karlukovski</i>	
<i>The Archeomagnetic Investigations: Results and Problems</i>	
Йордан Йорданов, Бранимира Димитрова	329
Медни пръстени върху зъбите на погребани в праисторическия некропол	
до с. Дуранкулак, Добричко	
<i>Jordan Jordanov, Branimira Dimitrova</i>	
<i>Copper Rings at the Teeth in the Buried at the Prehistoric Cemetery near Durankulak, Dobrich District</i>	
Никола Тонков, Илиан Катевски	333
Геофизични изследвания за определяне дебелината на културния	
слой на на обект "Водна централа" в археологическия резерват "Сборяново"	
<i>Nikola Tonkov, Ilian Katevski</i>	
<i>Geophysical Exploration for Determination the Thickness of the Cultural Layer at the Locality</i>	
<i>"Vodna Centrala" in the Archaeological Reserve "Sborianovo"</i>	
Георги Мавров	337
Реконструкция на тракийски златен венец	
от могила „Голяма косматка“ край Шипка	
<i>Georgi Mavrov</i>	
<i>Reconstruction of a Thracian Gold Wreath from Golyama Kosmatka Tumulus</i>	
<i>near the town of Shipka</i>	

Introduction

2007 marks 40 years since Henrieta Todorova began work at the Archaeological Institute of the Bulgarian Academy of Science. In view of this the institute dedicates this volume to her honour.

She has dedicated the last 40 years to extensive excavations and wide ranging research in the field of Bulgarian prehistory. As a result she has identified 12 new archaeological cultures as well as a new prehistoric period

Her scientific research has made a substantial contribution to the study of pre-history in south-eastern Europe and in this field she is one of the leading internationally recognized specialists. All publications in her research field cite and make extensive use of her crucial research works.

Her efforts to integrate the natural sciences into her research has become characteristic. Under her instigation the Archaeological Institute of Bulgarian Academy of Science formed the interdisciplinary research group in 1977. She was its chairperson and the main editor of the publication 'Interdisciplinary Research' for many years.

She has held lecture courses at many Bulgarian and foreign universities and guided many doctorate candidates who now form part of the new generation of Bulgarian pre-historians.

Henrieta Todorova has taken part in many international projects like the *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* (where she has published two volumes) and the Bulgarian-Greek excavations at Promahon-Topolnica (1992–2007). Due to her participation in the Paleo-metallurgical project of the *Max Plank Institute* at Mainz

Уводни думи

През 2007 г. се навършват 40 години от постъпването на Хенриета Тодорова на работа в Археологическия институт на БАН. По този случай институтът ѝ посвещава настоящия том.

Изминалите 40 години тя посвети на широкомащабни разкопки и интензивни изследвания по проблемите на българската праистория, в резултат от които бяха открити 12 нови археологически култури и един нов праисторически период.

Научните ѝ изследвания са съществен принос в праисторията на Югоизточна Европа, в която област тя е един от водещите, международно признати, специалисти. Няма научна публикация върху изследваните от нея периоди, където ключовите ѝ проучвания да не са многократно цитирани и широко използвани.

Характерно за стилът на работа на Х. Тодорова е стремежът ѝ ефикасно да интегрира в археологическите изследвания данните, получени от естествените науки. По нейна инициатива, през 1977 г., към Археологическия институт на БАН бе създадена Проблемна група за интердисциплинарни изследвания. Годици наред тя бе неин ръководител и главен редактор на сп. "Интердисциплинарни изследвания".

Тя е чела курсове от лекции в редица български и чуждестранни университети и е ръководила много докторанти, които днес са част от младото поколение български праисторици.

Хенриета Тодорова е участник в редица международни проекти като този на "Prähistorische Bronzefunde" (където има публикувани два тома) и Българо-гръцките раз-

and Heidelberg a Bulgarian copper ore site was identified, the earliest metallurgy in the world.

Her interregional research identified an ancient paleo-climatic catastrophe, a theme which she is currently working on.

H. Todorova has published many works, including 18 academic volumes in Bulgarian, German, English and the Russian language as well as over 100 assorted articles.

For her valuable contribution to science she was chosen, in 1978, as a Corresponding Member of the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin; in 2004 as a Corresponding Member of the Bulgarian Academy of Science and in 2007 as an International Member of the *Leibnitz society* in Berlin. She is also an honorary member of the Archaeological Institute and Museum of the Bulgarian Academy of Science and an honorary citizen of the city of Dobrich.

On behalf of the National Archaeological Institute and Museum of the Bulgarian Academy of Science I wish Henrieta Todorova many more productive years, new discoveries and excellent health.

Prof. Dr. Rasho Rashev
Director of the NAIM of the BAS
Sofia, 10 August 2007

копки на Промахон-Тополница (1992–2007 г.). Благодарение на участието ѝ в палеометалургичния проект на “Макс Планк” институтите в Майнц и Хайделберг бяха идентифицирани българските меднорудни находища на най-ранната металургия в света.

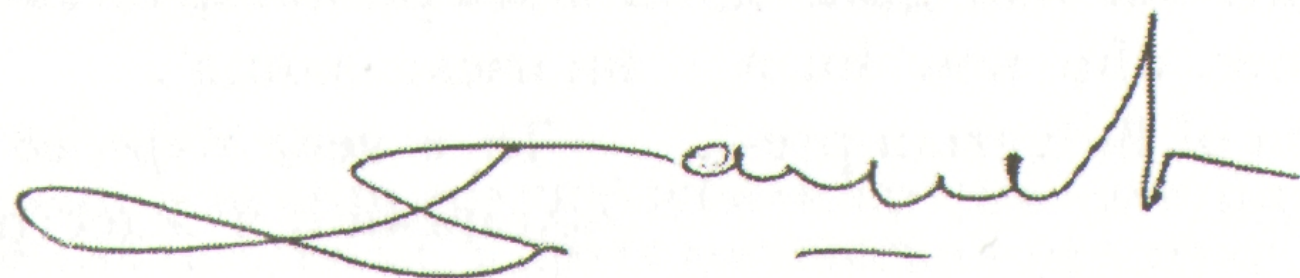
Надрегионалните ѝ проучвания изявиха съществени палеоклиматични катастрофи в древността. В момента тя се занимава интензивно с тази актуална проблематика.

Многобройни са публикациите на Х. Тодорова. Сред тях се нареждат 18 монографии на български, немски, английски и руски езици и над 100 студии, статии и съобщения.

За съществените ѝ научни приноси тя бе избрана през 1978 г. за Член-кореспондент на Немския археологически институт в Берлин, през 2004 г. за Член-кореспондент на БАН и през 2007 за Задграничен член на академията “Лайбниц социетет” в Берлин. Тя е и почетен член на Националния археологически институт с музей на БАН и почетен гражданин на гр. Добрич.

От името на Националния археологически институт с музей на БАН и от свое име пожелавам на Хенриета Тодорова още много творчески години, нови открития и крепко здраве.

Проф. д-р Рашо Рашев
Директор на НАИМ на БАН
София, 10 август 2007 г.





Henrieta Todorova

Henrieta Todorova is one of the leading internationally recognized prehistorians in Eastern Europe. Her 40 years of research, and in particular the extensive excavations which she has led, significantly widened our knowledge of pre-history on the Balkan peninsula. In many respects, a defining role in our perception of the Neolithic, Eneolithic, the Proto-Bronze age (VI–IV mil. B.C.), and paleo-climate in this part of the world. She defended her doctorate thesis on the theme ‘Eneolithic Ceramic From Thrace and North-Eastern Bulgaria’ in 1964 at the Archaeological Institute of the Slovakian Academy of Sciences at Nitra, Slovakia, under the guidance of Anton Totchik. In the same year she received the title Dr. Phil. from the Ján Amoš Komenský University in Bratislava, Slovakia.

She was also the first Bulgarian archaeologist to defend a doctorate in the historical science (Dr. habil), with the theme: The Eneolithic Period in Bulgaria. This work has been published in English (*The Eneolithic Period in Bulgaria in the Fifth Millenium B.C.* Oxford 1978, BAR Intern. Ser. 49), in Russian (*Энеолит Болгарии*. София 1979) and in Bulgarian (*Каменно-медната епоха в България*. София 1986).

From 1967 to 2003 H. Todorova worked at the Archaeological Institute of the Bulgar-

Хенриета Тодорова

Хенриета Тодорова е един от водещите, световно признати праисторици на Югоизточна Европа. Нейната 40-годишна изследователска работа и особено ръководените от нея твърде успешни и широкомащабни археологически разкопки разшириха значително познанията ни за праисторията на Балканския полуостров и изиграха в много отношения определяща роля за днешните представи за неолита, енеолита и протобронзовата епоха (VI–IV хил.пр.Хр.) и палеоклимата в тази част на света. Докторската й дисертация на тема “Енеолитната керамика от Тракия и Североизточна България” е защитена през 1964 г. в Археологическия институт на Словашката академия на науките в гр. Нитра, Словакия, с научен ръководител проф. Антон Точик. През същата година тя става и д-р фил. (Dr. Phil.) на университета Ян Амош Коменски в гр. Братислава, Словакия.

Тя е и първият български археолог защитил дисертация за доктор на историческите науки с тема: “Каменно-медната епоха в България”. Трудът е публикуван на английски (*The Eneolithic Period in Bulgaria in the Fifth Millenium B.C.* Oxford 1978, BAR Intern. Ser. 49), на руски език (*Энеолит Болгарии*. София 1979) и на български (*Каменно-медната*



In Jakimovo site, 1960
Якимово 1960 г.

ian Academy of Sciences in Sofia. From 1977 till 1979 she was the academic secretary of the Joint Centre for History and its assistant secretary from 1989 till 1993.

Henrieta Todorova is a member of the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin and a member of the permanent council of the *Union International des Sciences Pré- et Protohistoriques*. In 2003 she was made an honorary citizen of the town of Dobrich. In 2004 she was elected Corresponding Member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

Her research has concentrated mainly on the Neolithic and Eneolithic periods in north-eastern Bulgaria and on the western Black Sea coast, about which we had virtually no information prior to the 1960's. H. Todorova has researched and made this key area for European prehistory accessible to science. She has unearthed a number of archaeological cultures, phases and periods of Bulgarian prehistory.

She has participated in excavations at the

epoch in Bulgaria. Sofia 1986).

От 1967 до 2003 г. Хенриета Тодорова работи в Археологическия институт на Българската академия на науките в София, като от 1977 до 1979 г. е била научен секретар на Единния Център по история, а през 1989–1993 г. е заместник-директор на Археологическия институт. Х. Тодорова е член-кореспондент на Немския Археологически институт в Берлин и Член на постоянния съвет на *Union International des Sciences Pré- et Protohistoriques*. През 2003 г. бе обявена за почетен гражданин на град Добрич. През 2004 г. е избрана за член-кореспондент на Българската академия на науките.

Основната тежест на изследванията ѝ пада върху епохите на неолита и енеолита в Североизточна България и по западното Черноморско крайбрежие, за които до 60-те години на XX в. не се знаеше почти нищо. Х. Тодорова изследва и направи достояние на науката този ключов за европейската праистория район. Тя е откривател на редица археологически култури, фази и периоди в българската праистория.

Участвала е в археологическите разкопки на тракийския град Севтополис, на средновековните обекти в Якимово и Плиска.

Първото ѝ участие в праисторически разкопки е през 1961–1963 г. на **Азмашката селищна могила** край Стара Загора. То изиграва определяща роля за бъдещата ѝ научна ориентация. През 1962 г. тя участва и в разкопките на **селищната могила Сава** до гр. Дългопол, ръководени от Д. Златарски, което ѝ дава възможност да направи първото си откритие – ранноенеолитната култура Сава, разпространена по западното Черноморско крайбрежие южно от Варна. Това е един от приносите, залегнали в докторската ѝ дисертация.

Посредством паралелите на културата Сава с материали от Тракия в дисертацията ѝ бе формулирано и съдържанието на ранния енеолит на последния район (4750–4600 г. пр. Хр.), който обхваща I–III ФАЗИ НА КУЛТУРАТА МАРИЦА. Тъй като тези фази отсъстват в селищната могила Караново, то дотогава те не фигурираха и в периодизацията на енеолита на Тракия. С това бе установен хиатусът между Караново IV

Thracian city of Seuthopolis, and at medieval sites in Jakimovo, Vidin and Pliska.

Her first participation in a prehistoric excavation was in 1961-1963 at the tell **Azmashka Mogila** near Stara Zagora. This played a formative role in her future research orientation. In 1962 she participated in the excavations at the tell **Sava** near Dalgopol, which were led by D. Zlatarski and which gave her the opportunity to make her first discovery – the early Eneolithic SAVA culture stretching on the western Black Sea coast to the south of Varna. This was one of the contributions outlined in her doctorate dissertation.

By means of parallels between the Sava Culture and material from Thrace in her dissertation, the scope of the early Eneolithic in the latter region could be formulated (4750 – 4600 BC) which includes the I-III PHASES OF THE MARITSA culture. These phases are lacking at the Karanovo settlement mound, they do not figure in the periodisation of the Eneolithic in Thrace. A hiatus between Karanovo IV and Karanovo V is thus established.

She led her first archaeological excavations at the ENEOLITHIC NECROPOLIS NEAR DEVNYA, Varna district. The large number of metal finds and gold jewellery from this site were the first examples of the famous 'Varna Gold'. At this point, in 1967, she noted the particular significance of the area around the Varna lake for Bulgarian pre-history. This fact was later confirmed by research at the late-Eneolithic necropolis, Varna I, led by the late I. Ivanov.

The excavations carried out by H. Todorova at GOLYAMO DELCHEVO I (today at the bottom of the Tzonevo dam lake) and USOE near the village of Asparuhovo, Dulgopol (Varna), at the POLYANITSA-PLATEAU and OVCHAROVO-PLATEAU (Targovishte) furnished her with the possibility of unearthing the NEOLITHIC in north-eastern Bulgaria, represented by the TSONEVO culture (Early Neolithic), the OVCHAROVO culture (Middle Neolithic) and the USOE culture (Late Neolithic).

The complicated issue of its comparative chronology was solved on the basis of horizontal stratigraphy, unlike Thrace where the evolution of the Neolithic is given by the objective dating of the vertical stratigraphy of settlement mounds. Of particular significance to science was the

и Караново V.

Първите самостоятелно ръководени от нея археологически разкопки са тези на ЕНЕОЛИТНИЯ НЕКРОПОЛ ДО ГР. ДЕВНЯ, Варненско. Многобройните ранни метални находки и златни накити от този обект са първите предвестници на прочутото "Варненско злато". Още тогава, през 1967 г., тя отбелязва осолената позиция на района на Варненските езера в праисторията на България. Този факт бе потвърден покъсно от проучването на късноенеолитния некропол Варна I, ръководено от покойния И. Иванов.

Разкопките, проведени от Х. Тодорова в ГОЛЯМО ДЕЛЧЕВО I (днес на дъното на язовир Цонево) и УСОЕ при с. Аспарухово, община Дългопол (Варненско), на ПОЛЯНИЦА-ПЛАТОТО и ОВЧАРОВО-ПЛАТОТО (Търговищко) ѝ дадоха възможност да открие неолита на Североизточна България, представен от културите ЦОНЕВО (ранен неолит), ОВЧАРОВО (среден неолит) и УСОЕ (късен неолит). Сложният проблем за неговата относителна хронология бе решен на базата на хоризонталната стратиграфия, за разлика от Тракия, където развитието на неолита е обективно дадено от вертикалната стратиграфия на селищните могили.

От особено значение за науката е откритието на най-ранната фаза на българския неолит, наречена МОНОХРОМЕН НЕОЛИТ. До разкопките ѝ на Поляница-платото през 1974 г. този период не бе познат в България. Монохромният неолит се отнася към последната четвърт на VII и самото начало на VI хил.пр.Хр. С това откритие бе доказано, че още в края на VII хил.пр.Хр. и Северна България участва в началните процеси на неолитизацията на Европа.

Х. Тодорова открива и първата фаза (Блатница-Сосоасе) на отдавна познатата къснонеолитна култура Хаманджия, фаза която слага началото на земеделието и животновъдството в Добруджа. Проучванията ѝ в ДУРАНКУЛАК (Добричко) хвърлиха светлина върху произхода на тази култура, която се оказа най-източното звено на долнодунавския Винчански културен комплекс и не произхожда от Анатолия, както се предполагаше. Изследваният под нейно



On the excavations in Sava, 1963
На разкопките на Сава, 1963 г.

discovery of the earliest phase of the Bulgarian Neolithic, the MONOCHROME NEOLITHIC. Until the excavation of the Polyanitsa Plateau in 1974 this period was unknown in Bulgaria. The Monochrome Neolithic corresponds to the last quarter of the VII and the very beginning of the VI mil. B.C. This discovery proved that as early as the VII mil. B.C. northern Bulgaria was included in the initial process of the Neolithic in Europe.

H. Todorova also identified the first phase (BLATNITSA) of the well known late Neolithic Hamangia culture which marked the beginning of agriculture and animal husbandry in Dobrudzha.

Her research in DURANKULAK (Dobrich region) has thrown new light on the origin of this culture, which is the most eastern group of the lower Danubian Vinča Cultural Complex and does not originate from Anatolia as had been thought until this juncture. Research under her leadership on the banks of the Durankulak lake has shown that here we find a relatively late Neolithic, end of the Mesolithic/sub-Neolithic population, which arrived in Dobrudzha at the end of the VI mil. B.C. from the lower Danube region simultaneously with the population which brought the Bolintineanu – 1st phase of the late Neolithic Boian culture

ръководство некропол на брега на Дуранкулашкото езеро показва, че се касае за едно твърде късно неолитизирано местно, финално-мезолитно/субнеолитно население, дошло в Добруджа в края на VI хил. пр. Хр. от района на Долния Дунав, едновременно с населението – носител на I фаза (Болен-тинейану) на къснонеолитната култура Боян (Румъния).

Противно на до тогава приеманият еднотипен модел на неолитизацията на българските земи, проучванията на Х. Тодорова показаха, че на Балканския полуостров са имали място различни, асинхронни модели и посоки на процесите на неолитизация и че т.н. “неолитна революция” в този район е едно твърде сложно явление, за чието проучване тя има съществен принос.

През 1967–1974 г. Х. Тодорова ръководи в Североизточна България спасителните разкопки върху три енеолитни селищни могили и принадлежащите им некрополи – ГОЛЯМО ДЕЛЧЕВО (Варненско), ОВЧАРОВО и ПОЛЯНИЦА (Търговищко). Селищата в тях бяха проучени върху цялата им площ, което разкри както вътрешната им структура, така и сложните им укрепителни системи, непознати до този момент. Тези широкомащабни проучвания й позволиха

(Romania).

Contrary to the accepted unitary model of the arrival of the Neolithic in Bulgaria, H. Todorova's research illustrated that on the Balkan Peninsula there were many different models and directions so that the Neolithic Revolution in this region was a particularly complicated process to which her research has made a significant contribution.

Between 1967–1974 H. Todorova led rescue excavations on three Eneolithic settlement mounds and the connected burial sites in north-eastern Bulgaria – GOLYAMO DELCHEVO (Varna district), OVCHAROVO and POLYANITSA (Targovishte district). The entire area of the settlements there were researched which revealed their internal structure as well as their intricate defence systems, which had been unknown until this point. This extensive research allowed the precise periodization of the Stone/Copper Age in Bulgaria. The *middle Eneolithic phase*, represented in Thrace by Karanovo V, in north-eastern Bulgaria by the POLYANITSA culture discovered by her, and in Dobrudzha by the *fourth phase of the Hamangia* culture was defined.

Because of her research excavations we now have a wide base of information on the construction techniques, customs, economy, social structure and spiritual life of the Eneolithic population of North-Eastern Bulgaria. Regional characteristics of the Bulgarian Eneolithic culture were also defined.

The excavations carried out by H. Todorova at DURANKULAK (Dobrich district), on the west coast of the Black Sea, continued for over 30 years (1974–2005) and unearthed much new information. At the Big Island on the banks of the Durankulak Lake five construction layers from the Eneolithic settlement were researched. The *earliest in Europe* (outside Greece and Cyprus) *stone architecture* was discovered here, which dates to the second half of the V mil. B.C. Buildings of the megaron type in plan, two-storied palace complexes and temples were uncovered here as was a tiered social structure. The large number of copper objects recovered there as well as the metallurgical workshop which was researched, mark the beginning of metal working on the western Black Sea coast. At Durankulak the earliest golden object was found

да конкретизира периодизацията на каменно-медната епоха в България. Установена бе фазата на средния енеолит, представена в Тракия от Караново V, в Североизточна България от четвъртата фаза на откритата от нея култура Поляница, в Лонгоза от IV фаза на Сава, а в Добруджа от четвъртата фаза ДУРАНКУЛАК на културата Хаманджия.

Благодарение на нейните разкопки днес разполагаме с огромна информация за строителството, бита, икономиката, социалната структура и духовния живот на енеолитното население на Североизточна България. Очертани бяха и регионалните специфики на българските енеолитни култури.

Множество нови факти поднесоха дългогодишните разкопки (1974–2005) на Х. Тодорова в ДУРАНКУЛАК (Добричко), на западния бряг на Черно море. На Големия Остров в Дуранкулашкото езеро са проучени пет строителни хоризонта от едноименната енеолитна селищна могила. Там бе открита НАЙ-РАННАТА ЗА ЕВРОПА КАМЕННА АРХИТЕКТУРА (извън Гърция и Кипър), която се отнася към втората половина на V хил.пр.Хр. Разкрити са сгради с мегаронен план, двуетажни дворцови постройки и храмове. Установена бе и една диференцирана социална структура. Голямо количество медни находки и проучената там металургична работилница маркират началото на металургията по западното Черноморско крайбрежие. В Дуранкулак бе открита и най-ранната златна находка за ойкумената – едно манисто от ранния енеолит – култура Хаманджия III – отнасящо се към времето около 4650 BC.

Получената благодарение на разкопките на Големия остров картина се допълва от изследваните между 1979 и 1990 г. на западния бряг на Дуранкулашкото езеро 1203 ПРАИСТОРИЧЕСКИ ПОГРЕБЕНИЯ (*Durankulak II*, София 2002) за които е характерен един специфичен за черноморския район биритуално-монополарен погребален ритуал (мъже, изпънати по гръб, жени като хокери, всички с глава на север). Това е най-големият досега проучван енеолитен некропол в света. Получените там данни хвърлиха обилна светлина не само върху



On the Golyamo Delchevo tell, 1967

Селищната могила Голямо Делчево, 1967 г.

– an early Eneolithic bead – Hamangia culture III – dating to circa 4650 BC (4750–4600 BC):

The information from the excavations on the Big Island was supplemented by research between 1979 and 1990 on the west shore of the Durankulak Lake where 1203 prehistoric burials were excavated (*Durankulak II*, Sofia 2002). The burials were of a type specific to the Black Sea region – a biritual-monopolar burial ritual (males stretched on their backs, women crouched, all with heads facing north). To date this is the largest fully investigated Eneolithic burial site in the world. The data harvested there have thrown extensive light, not only on the social and demographic structure of the Eneolithic society during the second half of the V mil B.C., but also on a number of cultural aspects and the burial customs.

The excavations at Durankulak have also facilitated the explanation of the genesis of the late Eneolithic VARNA culture (4450–4200 BC) discovered by H. Todorova, which is spread along the west coast of the Black Sea. It has been proved that it is of local origin and evolves from a synthesis of the Hamangia and Sava cultures which proceeded it. Its exceptional development was due, on the one hand, to its favourable geographical situation on the coast along the 'Copper Road' – one of the main waterways

социалната и демографската структури на енеолитното общество през втората половина на V хил.пр.Хр., но и върху редица дотогава непознати аспекти на културата и погребалния ритуал.

Разкопките в Дуранкулак допринесоха и за изясняването на генезиса на откритата от Х. Тодорова късноенеолитна култура Варна, разпространена по западния бряг на Черно море (4450–4200 г.пр.Хр.). Доказано бе, че тя има местен произход и произлиза от синтеза на предшестващите я култури Хаманджия и Сава. Своя изключителен за времето си възход тя дължи, от една страна на благоприятното си географско положение на брега на морето, откъдето е минавал "Пътят на медта" – един от основните водни пътища на V хилядолетие, от друга – на отличните климатични условия, които предлага на района глобалния климатичен максимум.

Х. Тодорова анализира археологическите данни от Западното Черноморско крайбрежие и стига до извода, че тук е възникнала най-ранната **ПРОТОЦИВИЛИЗАЦИЯ** на човечеството (културата Варна). Заникът ѝ около 4200 г.пр.Хр. е разгледан не като локално явление, а бе обяснен с едно друго нейно фундаментално откритие – **ГЛОБАЛ-**

of the V mil., and, on the other, to excellent climatic conditions.

After analysing the archaeological data from the western Black Sea, coast H. Todorova came to the conclusion that the earliest *proto-civilization* emerged here (Varna Culture). Its decline in circa 4200 BC is not regarded as a local phenomenon but linked to one of her other fundamental discoveries – The *Global Ecological Crisis*, at the end of the V mil. BC, at the zenith of the climatic maximum (4200–3700 BC) on the Balkan Peninsula. The ecological disaster, which occurred as a result of global warming, is seen as the cause of the decline of the flourishing Eneolithic cultures in south-eastern Europe.

In 1987 H. Todorova led the excavation of an especially interesting middle Eneolithic structure in the PODUYANE district of Sofia. The material from this unique complex illustrates the presence in north-western Bulgaria of phase D2 of the Vinča culture and furnishes a definite fixed point for the dating of this phase as well as to the other contemporary Eneolithic developments in Bulgaria. Between 1980 and 1990 H. Todorova led excavations at the late Neolithic settlement PROMACHON-TOPOLNITSA in the lower Struma valley, situated on both sides of the Bulgarian-Greek border on the banks of the Struma at Topolnitsa, Petrich district. Between 1992-2005 the site was investigated by a joint Bulgarian-Greek team in which she led the Bulgarian contingent.

The TOPOLNICA-AKROPOTAMOS culture represented there is a valuable link between the late Neolithic development in SW Bulgaria and that in Northern Greece, Macedonia and Thessaly. This facilitates the precise identification of the relationship between these cultures and throws new light on the development of the Late Neolithic in this region.

The body of research carried out by H. Todorova has contributed much to the questions of prehistory. In this respect a central role is played by the so-called '**Cult Scene from Ovcharovo**' (*on the cover*), discovered by her (1974), which illustrates that in the complicated Neolithic pantheon the main gods were the sun, moon and natural elements. The idols discovered there contributed to our understanding of the role of idol figures in the cult system during this period. From 1993 onwards this enabled

НАТА ЕКОЛОГИЧЕСКА КРИЗА, засегнала в края на V хил.пр.Хр., по времето на кулминацията на климатическия максимум (4200–3700 г.пр.Хр.), Балканския полуостров. Настъпилата в резултат от глобалното затопляне екологическа катастрофа, безразгледана като причина за загиването на блестящите енеолитни култури на Югоизточна Европа.

През 1987 г. Х. Тодорова ръководи разкопките на една твърде интересна средное-неолитна сграда в квартал Подуяне на град София. Материалите от този уникален затворен комплекс показваха присъствието на територията на Северозападна България на носителите на фазата D2 на културата Винча и дадоха сигурни опорни точки както за датирането на тази фаза, така и за синхронизацията ѝ с останалите средное-неолитни явления в България.

В района на долна Струма Х. Тодорова ръководи между 1980 и 1990 г. разкопките на къс-неолитното селище ПРОМАХОН - ТОПОЛНИЦА, разположено от двете страни на българо-гръцката държавна граница при вишка 63, на брега на р. Струма при с. Тополница, Петричко. През 1992–2005 г. обектът се проучва в гръцкия му сектор от българо-гръцки научен колектив, в който тя участва като ръководител на българския екип. Представената там култура ТОПОЛНИЦА-АКРОПОТАМОС е важно свързващо звено на къс-неолитните явления в югозападна България с тези от Северна Гърция, Македония и Тесалия. Това обстоятелство даде възможност за прецизиране на синхронизациите между културите и хвърли нова светлина върху развитието късния неолит в този район.

Редица изследвания на юбилантката са посветени на проблемите на праисторическото изкуство. В тази област водещо място заема откритата от нея т.н. *култова сцена от Овчарово* (1974) (*на корицата*) от която става ясно, че върховните божества в сложния нео-енеолитен пантеон са били слънцето, луната и природните стихии. Откритите там идоли хвърлиха светлина върху мястото на идолната пластика в култовата система на този период, което даде възможност през 1993 г. и т.н. *богати символични погреб-*



Studying the Poljanitsa finds, 1977

Работа с находките от Поляница, 1977 г.

the 'rich symbolic burials' at Varna burial site to be identified by her as burials of large idols probably originating from a central Eneolithic temple complex with a pan-regional function and interred around the time of the demise of the enclave in circa 4200 BC.

H. Todorova has always tried to utilize the scientific data attained by her as historical sources. Viewed in a broad context, she has contributed substantially to the definition of the general picture in terms of the historical development in this part of the world during the VII-IV mil. BC. Particularly vital, in this respect, is her knowledge *ad autopsiam* of the archaeological material from Greece, Romania, Serbia, Albania, Moldova, Turkey, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic, which enables her to comparatively evaluate and critically analyse the work done before her.

One of the first steps in this process was the linking of cognate cultures into large cultural complexes and blocs. So, for example, the cultures in the north-eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula were fused with the KODJADERMEN-GUMELNIȚA-KARANOVO VI CULTURAL COMPLEX (KGK VI). This allowed the compli-

чения от Варненския некропол да бъдат идентифицирани от нея като погребения на големи храмови идоли, произхождащи вероятно от един централен енеолитен храмов комплекс с надрегионални функции и "погребани" при загиването на енкава при Варненските езера около 4200 кал.г.пр.Хр. в резултат от споменатата екологична криза.

Х. Тодорова винаги се е стремяла да използва получените от нея научни резултати като исторически извор. Разгледани в широк контекст на праисторията на Югоизточна Европа, те допринасят съществено за уточняване на общата картина на историческото развитие на тази част от света през VII-IV хил.пр.Хр. В тази насока от особено значение е нейното познаване *ad autopsiam* на археологическите материали от Гърция, Румъния, Сърбия, Албания, Украйна, Молдавия, Турция, Унгария, Словакия и Чехия, което ѝ дава възможност за точни сравнения и критична преценка на направеното в тази област преди нея.

Една от първите крачки в това направление бе обединяването на сродните културни явления в големи културни комплекси и

cated character of the prehistoric development on the Balkan Peninsula to be defined in terms of pan-regional historical processes. Thus, Balkan prehistory was freed from the cul-de-sac of limited local research.

This historical picture was expanded by comparative research within the framework of the Balkan-Anatolian region. This comparative approach has added substantially to our knowledge of prehistory in south-eastern Europe and Anatolia. This *caesura* in the prehistoric development of the Balkan Peninsula encompassed almost the entire IV mil. BC. This has been convincingly explained by geo-climatic factors for which, in recent years, the natural sciences have furnished a wealth of data. The discovery and utilization of this data as a historical source facilitates explanation of the cultural collapse at circa 4200 BC. This approach militates against the previous theory that this collapse was due to an invasion by northern Pontic tribes.

Attempts to fill in the gaps in the absolute chronology of Bulgarian prehistory led Prof. Todorova to the discovery in north-eastern Bulgaria of the PEVETS culture (southern branch of the Cernavodă I culture), in north-western Bulgaria of the GALATIN cultural group, and to the classification of the *Proto-Bronze Age* (IV mil. BC) as the forerunner to the classical early Bronze Age on the Balkan peninsula.

As a result of the long-standing research of H. Todorova, we today possess a full chronology of the region between the Danube and the Balkans and to the Black Sea coast from the time the Neolithic developed in this area until the beginning of the Bronze Age. The chronological system developed by her is similar to the Thracian one except for the fact that in her model the hiatus is a given fact.

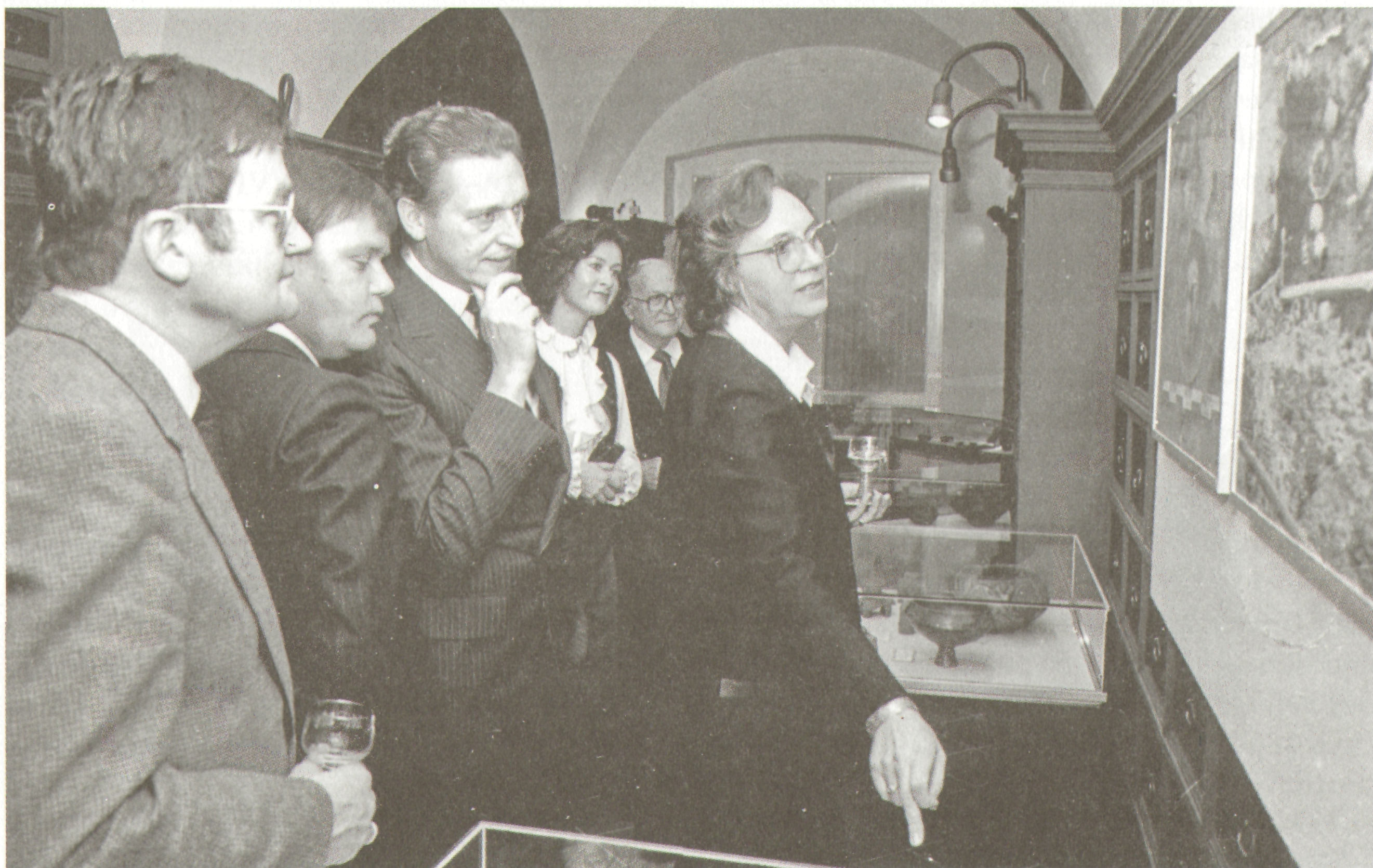
Another area of academic interest to H. Todorova is *early metallurgy*. In two works (*PBF IX/14*, 1981 and *PBF XX/6*, 2001, the latter in conjunction with I. Vajsov) the earliest metal finds from Bulgaria are collected and published. Her active participation in the major project for chemical and lead-isotopic research on the earliest Bulgarian metal finds, organized by the Max-Planck Institutes in Mainz and Heidelberg (Germany), provided the possibility to determine the exact origin of the copper used in the metal objects. It was proved that, from

блокове. Така например късноенеолитните култури в североизточната част на Балканския полуостров бяха обединени в КУЛТУРНИЯ КОМПЛЕКС КОДЖАДЕРМЕН-ГУМЕЛНИЦА-КАРАНОВО VI (КГК VI). Този подход позволи да се подчертае комплексният характер на праисторическото развитие на Балканския полуостров, като бъдат изведени на преден план като определящи надрегионалните исторически процеси. С това Балканската праистория бе изведена от задънената улица на ограничените локални изследвания.

Получената историческа картина бе разшириха чрез сравнителни проучвания в рамките на целия Балкано-анатолийски регион. Този широкомащабен сравнителен подход изяви съществени цезури в картината на праисторическото развитие на югът на Югоизточна Европа и Анатолия. Такава цезура в праисторическото развитие на Балканския полуостров обхваща почти цялото IV хилядолетие. Тя бе убедително обяснена с действието гео-климатични фактори, за които през последните години естествените науки натрупаха богат доказателствен материал. Привличането на тези данни и използването им като исторически извори, даде възможност да бъде дадено едно приемливо обяснение на културния колапс около 4200 г.пр.Хр. Този подход позволи да бъдат оборени старите схващания (в това число нейните собствени), че причина за колапса е инвазия на степни северопонтийски племена.

Усилията да бъдат запълнени поне отчасти очерталите се празнини в относителната и абсолютна хронология на българската праистория доведоха юбилантката до откриването в североизточна България на културата ПЕВЕЦ (южен пандант на културата Чернавода I), в северозападна България на културната група ГАЛАТИН (крайното югоизточно звено на големия средноевропейски Хоризонт на шайбовидните дръжки) и до формулирането на периода на ПРОТОБРОНЗОВАТА ЕПОХА (IV хил. пр.Хр) като предшественик на класическата ранна бронзова епоха на Балканския полуостров.

В резултат от дългогодишната научно-



The exhibition in Wolfenbüttel, 1981
Изложбата във Волфенбютел 1981 г.

the early stage of Bulgarian metallurgy, a poly-central structure of metal supply was in place in which all available copper sources were utilized. The project allowed a wide range of new pre-historic developments in copper finds from the copper ore region and from Strandzha, conclusively proving its utilization from the middle of the V mil.BC.

The collapse of the Balkan-Carpathian metallurgy (documented by E. N. Chernikh) is explained by the aforementioned ecological catastrophe which led to the demise of both the Eneolithic settlement system and the population carrying out the metallurgy in question.

The academic interests of H. Todorova also encompass the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. On the Big Island at DURANKULAK, under her direction, a unique fortified settlement from the Late Bronze Age was completely excavated, built by representatives of the southern branch of the Coslogeni culture. At GOLYAMO DELCHEVO an enclosed complexes from the Early Iron Age was investigated. In the publication of both, the data received was viewed in the broader historical context.

H. Todorova has discovered a number of ar-

изследователска дейност на Х. Тодорова днес разполагаме с една пълна относителна хронология на развитието на района между р. Дунав и Балкана, както и по западното Черноморско крайбрежие от момента на неолитизацията на тези райони до началото на бронзовата епоха. Разработената от нея хронологическа система е равностоеен пандаант на тракийската с тази разлика, че в нея цезурите присъстват като исторически дадености.

Друга област от научните интереси на Х. Тодорова е ранната металургия. В два тома (*PBF IX/14*, 1981 и *PBF XX/6*, 2001, последният в съавторство с И. Вайсов) са събрани и публикувани най-ранните метални находки от България. Активното ѝ участие в широк-мощабния проект на Макс-Планк Институтите в Майнц и Хайделберг (Германия) за химично и оловно-изотопно изследване на ранните балкански метални находки даде възможност да бъде установен достатъчно точно произхода на медта, вложена в най-ранните метални находки. Доказано бе, че още в своите най-ранни етапи балканската металургия е разполагала с полицентрич-

archaeological cultures, phases and periods, i.e.: *The Monochrome Neolithic period in Bulgaria*, the TSONEVO Culture (Early Neolithic in area of Longosa), OVCHAROVO (Middle Neolithic in north-eastern Bulgaria), USOE (Late Neolithic in Longosa), the BLATNITSA PHASE of the Hanangia culture (beginning of the late Neolithic in Dobrudzha), the TOPOLNITSA-AKROPOTAMOS culture (late Neolithic in the middle and lower Struma), SAVA (Early and Middle Eneolithic in Longosa) with this KABLESHKOVO VARIANT (Burgas), PHASES I-III OF THE MARITSA CULTURE (Early Eneolithic in Thrace), POLYANITSA (Early and Middle Eneolithic in north-eastern Bulgaria), VARNA (Late Eneolithic on the western Black Sea coast), *Transition Period from the Eneolithic to the Early Bronze Age* with sub-phases *Final Eneolithic* and *Proto-Bronze Age*, GALATIN culture (Proto-Bronze Age in north-western Bulgaria), PEVETS (Proto-Bronze Age in north-eastern Bulgaria), SOUTHERN VARIANT OF THE COSLOGENI CULTURE (Late Bronze Age in north-eastern Dobrudzha).

Outside the prehistoric framework of her general academic interests, H. Todorova carried out a wide ranging investigation of the EARLY-MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT on the Big Island at Durankulak (the first fully researched settlement from the 9th-10th c. AD in this region). The accompanying burial site was also excavated (*Дуранкулак I*, София 1989).

Also on the Large Island at Durankulak, under her leadership, a unique HELLENISTIC CAVE TEMPLE OF THE GODDESS CYBELE, cut into the rock, was investigated, together with its complex of sacrificial areas and pits (*Durankulak III*, София 2007).

Her excavations at the CAVE NEAR THE VILLAGE OF BAYLOVO (Sofia district) provided the second incidence of cave art in Bulgaria, almost identical with that from Magura cave. This illustrated, contrary to expectations, that it was a case of late medieval drawings, probably the work of the followers of the Bogomil sect. This was confirmed by the ¹⁴C readings from Baylovo.

Characteristic of H. Todorova is her endeavours to incorporate into her archaeological research data gleaned from the natural sciences. Under her initiative a work-group on interdis-

на структура на металоснабдяване, като са били експлоатирани всички достъпни медно-рудни находища. Проектът позволи да бъдат идентифицирани редица нови праисторически разработки на меднорудни находища в района на Медни рид и в Странджа, като бе убедително доказана тяхната ранна експлоатация още от средата на V хил. пр.Хр.

Колапсът на Балкано-Карпатската металургична провинция (установена от Е.Н. Черных) бе обяснен с гореспоменатата екологична катастрофа, довела както до загиването на енеолитната поселищна система така и на населението практикувало въпросната металургия и съпътстващия я рудодобив.

Научните интереси на Х. Тодорова касаят и периодите на късната бронзова и ранната желязна епохи. На Големия остров в Дуранкулак под нейно ръководство бе изцяло проучено едно уникално по рода си укрепено селище от късната бронзова епоха, оставено от носителите на южния вариант на културата Кослоджени, а в Голямо Делчево бяха изследвани затворени комплекси от ранножелязната епоха, като в публикации им проблематиката е разгледана в широк исторически контекст.

Х. Тодорова е откривател на многобройни археологически култури, фази и периоди, а именно: Периода на Монохромния неолит в България; Културата Цонево (ранен неолит в Лонгоза); Културата Овчарово (среден неолит в Североизточна България); Културата Усое (късен неолит в Лонгоза); Фазата Блатница-Сосоасе на културата Хаманджия (начало на неолита в Добруджа); Фазата Дуранкулак на културата Хаманджия (среден енеолит в Добруджа); Културата Тополница-Акропотамос (късен неолит по средна и долна Струма); Културата Сава (ранен и среден енеолит в Лонгоза) с варианта Каблешково (в Бургаско); I-III фази на културата Марица (ранен енеолит в Тракия); Културата Поляница (ранен и среден енеолит в Североизточна България); Културата Варна (късен енеолит по западното Черноморско крайбрежие); Културния комплекс Коджандермен-Гумелница-Караново VI (КГК VI); Преходния период от енеолита към ранна-



On the Durankulak

В Дуранкулак

та бронзова епоха в България с подетапите Финален енеолит и Протобронзова епоха; Културата Галатин (протобронзова епоха в Северозападна България); Културата Певец (протобронзова епоха в Северизточна България) и др.

Извън праисторическата рамка на основните й научни интереси на юбилантката остава цялостното изследване на **РАННО-СРЕДНОВЕКОВНОТО СЕЛИЩЕ** върху големия остров в Дуранкулак (първото изцяло изследвано селище от IX–X в. у нас). Проучени са и принадлежащите му некрополи (*Дуранкулак I*, София 1989). Също така на Големия остров в Дуранкулак, под нейно ръководство, бе проучен и един уникален изсечен в скалите **ЕЛИНИСТИЧЕСКИ ПЕЩЕРЕН ХРАМ НА БОГИНЯТА КИБЕЛА** заедно със сакралната му територия със жертвени ями и жертвени площадки (*Durankulak III*, София 2007).

Разкопките й в **ПЕЩЕРАТА ПРИ С. БАЙЛОВО**, Софийско, която е второто находище с пещерни рисунки в България, почти идентични с тези от Магурата, показаха, противно на очакванията, че става дума за късносредновековни рисунки, оставени вероятно от богомилите. Този факт бе потвърден и от получените от Байлово калибрирани ^{14}C дати.

Характерно за Х. Тодорова е стремежът й ефикасно да интегрира в археологическите изследвания данните получени от естествените науки. За целта по нейна инициатива през 1977 г. към Археологическия институт на БАН бе създадена Проблемна група за интердисциплинарни изследвания. Годици наред тя бе неин ръководител и главен редактор на списанието “Интердисциплинарни изследвания” издавано от АИМ–БАН.

Интензивните й занимания с палеоекологическата проблематика й дадоха възможност успешно да използва информацията, получена от естествените науки като исторически извор. Този подход й позволи да разкрие причинно-следствени зависимости между фундаменталните промени на климата, тези на бреговата линия на Черно море през климатическия оптимум и редица наблюдавани надрегионални праисторически явления. В резултат от тези из-

ciplinary research under the auspices of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences was established in 1977. For many years she led this group and was editor-in-chief of *Interdisciplinary Research*, published by the Archaeological Institute of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

Her intensive work on paleo-ecological issues enabled her to utilize information harvested from the natural sciences as a historical source. This approach uncovered the intrinsic link between the fundamental climate changes on the Black Sea coast during the climatic optimum and a range of inter-regional pre-historic developments.

Her contribution to the education and training of young pre-historians must also be noted. She has held lecture courses at Sofia and Veliko Turnovo Universities and at the New Bulgarian University in Sofia. Abroad, she has led courses at the University of Bonn, at the Mining Academy in Freiberg (Germany) and at Hacettepe University in Ankara, as well as numerous lectures at practically all major European universities. Many young archaeologists, both from Bulgaria and abroad, have taken part in her excavations. She has put her archaeological material at the disposal of her most promising students for post-excavation analysis and publication. She has also guided a number of doctorate candidates who today are part of the young generation of Bulgarian pre-historians.

H. Todorova has presented papers at numerous international congresses, symposiums and conferences in the field of pre-history, and organized three international symposiums on the same theme in Bulgaria. She was the organizer of the first Bulgarian exhibition 'Prehistoric Art in Bulgaria' which exhibited here and in other European countries. She was also joint organizer of the exhibition 'Thrace and Troy' which toured Bulgaria and many German cities. She was a member of the expert committee responsible for the concept of the National Museum in Sofia and worked on the concepts for the museums in Targovishte and Dobrich. Her finds are exhibited at museums in Blagoevgrad, Petrich, Varna, Dobrich, Vratsa, Shabla, Durankulak and Serres as well as at the Archaeological Museum and Institute for Morphology of the Bulgarian Academy of Science and at the National Museum in Sofia.

следвания Х. Тодорова успя да установи три дълбоки екологически кризи в праисторията на Югоизточна Европа, които предизвикват съществени колапси в развитието на района.

Трябва да бъде изтъкнат и същественият принос на юбилантката за подготовката на млади праисторически кадри. Тя е чела курсове от лекции в Софийския университет "Св. Климент Охридски", в университета "Св.Св. Кирил и Методий" във Велико Търново, в Новият български университет в София, а в чужбина – в университета в Бон, в Минната академия във Фрайберг (Германия) и в университета "Хачеттепе" в Анкара, както и многобройни лекции в почти всички европейски университети. На разкопките ѝ са участвали и усвоили методите на теренната работа много млади археолози от страната и чужбина. На най-перспективните от тях тя предоставя свои археологически материали за обработка и публикация. Ръководила е редица докторанти, които днес са част от младото поколение български праисторици.

Х. Тодорова е участвала с доклади в многобройни международни конгреси, симпозиуми и конференции по праистория и бе организатор на три международни симпозиума по същата проблематика в България.

Тя е организатор и на първата българска праисторическа изложба на тема "Праисторическото изкуство в България", показана у нас и в Европа, и съорганизатор на изложбата "Тракия и Троя" представена у нас и в редица градове в Германия.

Участвала е като отговорник за праисторията в Експертния съвет, разработил концепцията на Националния музей в София и в разработването на концепцията на археологическите музеи в Търговище и Добрич. Нейни находки са експонирани в музеите в Благоевград, Петрич, Варна, Добрич, Враца, Шабла, Дуранкулак и Серес, както и в Археологическия музей на БАН в София, в музейната сбирка на Института по морфология на БАН и в Националния исторически музей в София.

Научните ѝ трудове са многобройни. Автор е на 18 монографии, сред които се нареждат станалите вече класически про-

Her academic works are numerous. She is the author of 18 monographs, among which are such now standard works as:

The Eneolithic Period in Bulgaria (Oxford 1978); *Die kupferzeitlichen Äxte und Beile in Bulgarien* (PBF IX, 14, München 1981); *Kupferzeitliche Siedlungen in Nordostbulgarien* (MAVA 13, München 1982); *Der prähistorische Schmuck Bulgariens* (PBF XX, 6, Stuttgart 2001, with co-author I. Vajsov); *Каменно-медната епоха в България* (София 1986); *Новокаменната епоха в България* (София 1993, with co-author I. Vajsov); editor and chief author of the series *Durankulak: Дуранкулак, том I, Средновековното селище и некрополи* (София 1989); *Durankulak, Band II, Die prähistorischen Gräberfelder* (Sofia 2001) and *Durankulak, Band III, Die hellenitischen Befunde* (Sofia 2007) (in conjunction with others) etc.

Her work is much cited and is widely referred to the scientific literature on the prehistory around the world. Her invaluable research work throughout the decades and her unfailing publication of the results has made it available to society. Overall, she has made a fundamental contribution to the pre-history of south-eastern Europe and provided the basis for future research on the prehistory in this part of the world.

Christina Angelova
Mark Stefanovich

изведения *The Eneolithic Period in Bulgaria* (Oxford 1978), *Die kupferzeitlichen Äxte und Beile in Bulgarien*. PBF IX, 14 (München 1981), *Kupferzeitliche Siedlungen in Nordostbulgarien*, MAVA 13 (München 1982), *Der prähistorische Schmuck Bulgariens*, PBF XX, 6 (Stuttgart 2001) (Съавтор И. Вайсов), *Каменно-медната епоха в България* (София 1986), *Новокаменната епоха в България* (София 1993) (Съавтор И. Вайсов). Редактор и основен автор на поредицата *Дуранкулак: Дуранкулак, том I, Средновековното селище и некрополи* (БАН, София 1989), *Durankulak, Band II, Die prähistorischen Gräberfelder* (DAI Berlin, Sofia 2001) и *Durankulak, Band III, Die hellenitischen Befunde* (DAI Berlin, Sofia 2007) (със съавтори) и много други.

Трудовете ѝ са многократно цитирани и биват широко използвани в съвременната праисторическа литература в целия свят.

Високо ценим дългогодишната научно-изследователска дейност на юбилантката както и постоянните ѝ усилия за публикуване на получените резултати, благодарение на което те са достъпни на обществеността. Като цяло те са фундаментален принос към праисторията на Югоизточна Европа и трасят пътя на бъдещите праисторически изследвания в тази част на света.

Христина Ангелова
Марк Стефанович





Кратка биография

Родена е на 25.02.1933 г. в София.

1954 – завършва университета “Ян Амош Коменски” в Братислава, специалности История и Философия.

1964 – защита на кандидатска дисертация в Археологическия институт на Словашката академия на науките в гр. Нитра, Словакия на тема: *Енеолитната керамика от Тракия и Североизточна България*.

1964 – Dr. Phil. на университета “Ян Амош Коменски” в Братислава.

1978 – защита в София на дисертация за Доктор на историческите науки на тема: *Каменно-медната епоха в България*.

От 1967 – научен сътрудник в АИМ-БАН.

От 1978 – старши научен сътрудник II степен в АИМ-БАН.

От 1981 – 2004 – Старши научен сътрудник I степен в АИМ-БАН.

1977–1979 – научен секретар на Центъра по история.

От 1978 – Член-кореспондент на Немския археологически институт в Берлин

1978–1990 – завеждаща Проблемна група по интердисциплинарни изследвания към АИМ.

1989–1993 – заместник-директор на АИМ-БАН.

1982–1994 – член на Научния съвет на АИМ-БАН.

1982–2000 и от 2004 до сега – член на Специализирания съвет по стара история, археология и етнография при ВАК.

1984–1994 – член на Историческата комисията към ВАК.

От 2004 – Член-кореспондент на БАН.

От 2007 г. – Задграничен член на академията “Лайбниц социете” в Берлин.

Автор е на 18 монографии, 150 студии, статии, съобщения и рецензии, публикувани у нас и в чужбина. Трудите ѝ са многократно рецензирани в най-реномираните специализирани издания у нас и в чужбина и биват постоянно многократно цитирани в чужбина и у нас.

Курсове от лекции в университетите – СУ, НБУ и ВТУ.

Гост-професор в следните университети: 1988 – Бон, Германия; 1990 – Хачеттепе в Анкара, Турция; 1999/2000 – Фрейберг, Германия.

Ръководство на редица докторантури.

Отделни публични лекции в Берлин, Франкфурт, Кьолн, Хайделберг, Хановер, Хамбург, Олденбург, Мюнхен, Майнц, Дрезден, Лайпциг, Дармщат, Тюбинген, Хале, Виена, Залцбург, Москва, Саратов, Киев, Одеса, Кишинев, Тбилиси, Братислава, Прага, Бърно, Белград, Скопие, Нови сад, Сараево, Будапеща, Сегед, Букурещ, Яш, Клуж, Истанбул, Анкара, Солун, Атина, Кавала, Комотини и др.

Участие в многобройни международни научни конгреси, симпозиуми и конференции.

Организатор на три международни симпозиума по праистория в България:

1978 – „Pulpudaeva praehistoricus“ – в Пловдив;

1988 – „Pontus praehistoricus“ – в Добрич;

2004 – „Strymon praehistoricus“ – Кюстендил-Благоевград-Серес-Амфиполис.

Участие в международни проекти:

1984–1986 – Участва в българо-немския проект „Садовец“ с Баварската академия на науките.

1993–1998 – Участва в проекта на Макс-Планк институтите в Майнц и Хайделберг за изследване на най-ранната металургия в България.

1984–2007 – ръководител на българския екип в българо-гръцкия проект „Промахон-Тополница“.

Главен редактор на поредицата „*Durankulak*“ – издание на Немския археологически институт в Берлин.

Член на редколегията на Сборник *Добруджа* от основаването до 2002 г.

Съредактор на поредицата *In the Steps of J.H. Gaul* (Благоевград).

През 2003 г. е обявена за почетен гражданин на град Добрич.

В чест на Х. Тодорва е издаден сборникът *Добруджа* 21, 2003.

Археологически разкопки под ръководството на Хенриета Тодорова:

1967 – Енеолитен некропол в гр. Девня, Варненско (публикувано);

1967–1970 – Селищна могила Голямо Делчево, Варненско (публикувано);

1971–1980 – Неолитно селище Усое, Варненско (предварителни съобщения);

1971–1973 – Селищна могила Овчарово, Търговищко (публикувано);

1973–1974 – Селищна могила Поляница, Търговищко;

1974 – Неолитно селище Шабла, Добричко;

1974–2003 – Дуранкулак, Добричко: Средновековно селище и некропол (*Дуранкулак т. I, София 1989*), елинистически пещерен храм, къснобронзово селище, енеолитна селищна могила на Големия остров, неолитни землянки, неолитни и енеолитни некрополи с над 1200 погребения (*Durankulak Bd. II, Teile 1 und 2, Sofia 2002*);

1975 – Енеолитен некропол Поляница, Търговищко;

1975 – Селищна могила Дуранкулак, Добричко (сондажи);

1975 – Пещерата Оногур, Добричко (сондажи);

1976 – Ранноеолитно селище Поляница-платото, Търговищко (Монохромен неолит);

1978 – Височинно селище „Джугера“, Врачанско;

1979 – Контролни разкопки на Големаново кале при Садовец, Плевенско (публикувано);

1979 – Височинно селище „Галатин“, Врачанско;

1983 – Енеолитно и раннобронзово селище Негованци, Пернишко;

1987 – Пещера с пещерни рисунки при с. Байлово, Софийско;

1988 – Винчанска сграда в Подуене, София, среден енеолит (публикувано);

1983 – 1988 – Къснееолитно селище Тополница, Благоевградско,

1996 – 2005 г. тези разкопки продължават като българо-гръцки проект „Промахон-Тополница“ като Х. Тодорова е ръководител от българския екип в проекта.

2005–2007 – Консултант на археологическите разкопки в Оходен, Врачанско.



Нови данни за неолитизацията на Предна Азия

Харалд Хауптман

New Data About the Neolitization of the Southwest Asia

Harald Hauptmann

This work presents the latest investigations on the earliest Neolithic period in Southwest Asia, the chronology of the period and the process of neolithization from the area of the Fertile Crescent towards Europe. Some of the sites give us a picture of a well structured society. The neolithic sculpture and the reliefs on the pillars from the temple in Göbekli Tepe were analysed and present different picture from Central Anatolia and Europe, where this cult sphere is integrated in normal buildings. With dispersion of the new way of living the settled farmers and stock-breeders from Anatolia towards Southeastern Europe, the new cults dispersed too, which can be noticed in the small plastic arts. In the neolithic period this area of Upper Mesopotamia and the slopes of Taurus Mountains were heavily populated zone, which is the cradle of human civilization.

След края на последния ледников период, на прехода от епохата на ловците и събирачите към епохата на уседналия живот и производството на храни, в предна Азия настъпват дълбоки промени в начина на живот, определящи за човешката история през следващите 12000 години. Постепенно развитието на земеделие и одомашняването на овце и кози, а по-късно и на говедото, позволяват на формиралите се големи човешки колективи да отседнат за дълго време на едно място. Новият начин на живот провокира и нов начин на мислене, развитието на нови технологии в обработката на камъка и дървото, по-късно и производството на керамични изделия и дори и познаването на металите – въведения, които остават дълбоки следи в социалните и политическите структури. Животът на дадена човешка група вече не зависи от успеха на лова, а от труда на всеки един от членовете и от колективните трудови усилия на цели семейства. Преходът от “присвояваща” към “произвеждаща” икономика е съпроводен от промяна в духовния живот и в нагласата на човека. Възникват разнообразни представи за божества, които формират нова култова система. Новите религиозни представи, наречени още “психоеволюция” личат от промените в сравнение с палеолитната

иконография и в масовизирането на изобразителните изяви.

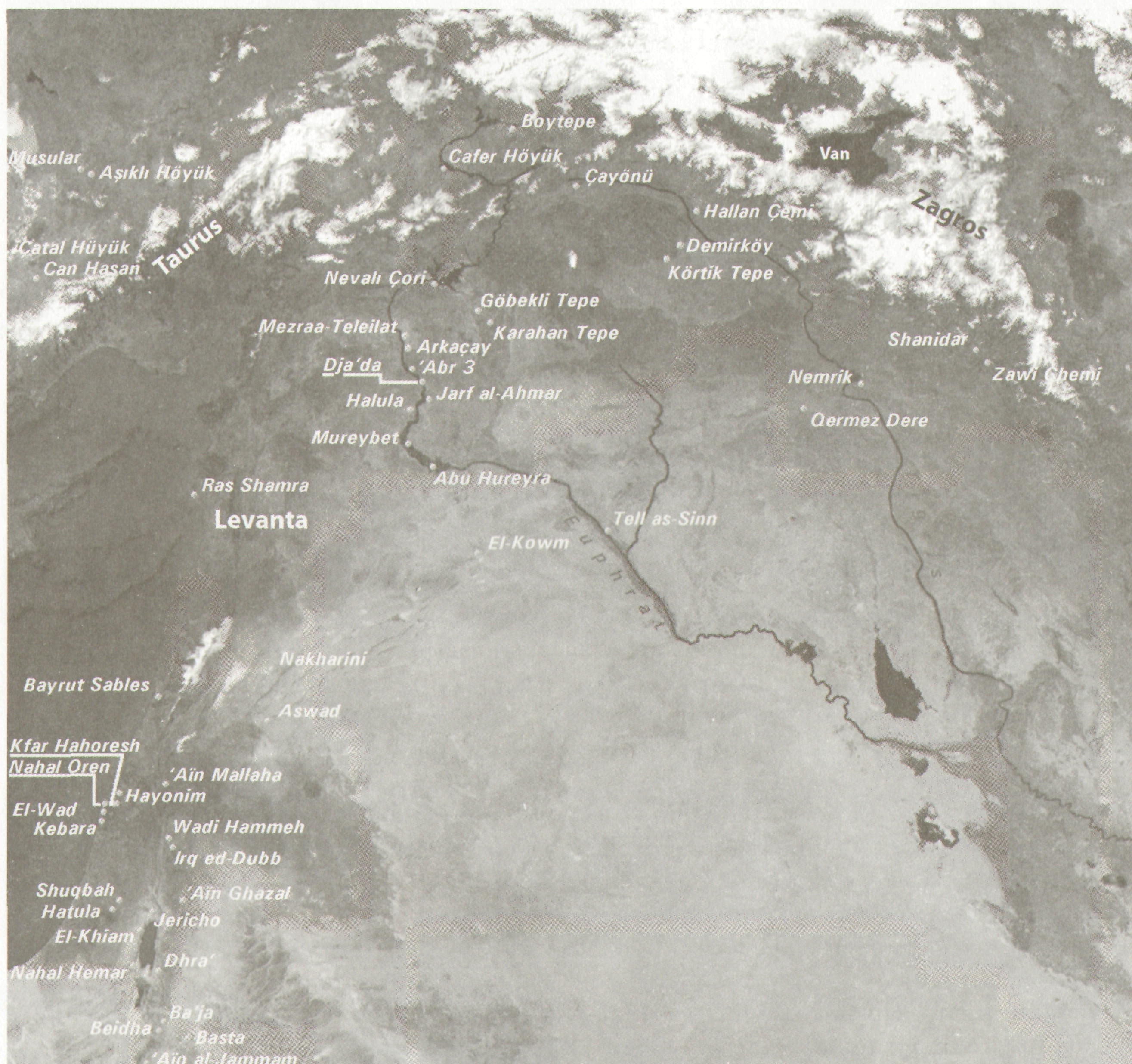
Австралийския праисторик В. Гордън Чайлд въведе през 1928 г. понятието “Неолитна революция” – първата революция в историята на човечеството¹. За възникването на земеделието той се опира на изследванията на Габриел де Мортиле (*Gabriel de Mortillet*) от 1885 г. и на съветския биолог Николай И. Вавилов, който посочи Югозападна Азия като центъра, откъдето през ранния холоцен тръгва разпространението на най-ранното земеделие².

Днес е установено, че първите стъпки към новия начин на живот, свързани с един продължителен процес на отсядане, са били направени не в низините на Тигър и Ефрат, а в периферията на оазисите, в по-умерения в климатично отношение “Плодороден полумесец” – Сирия и Палестина. Именно оттам неолитизацията се разпространява през Мала Азия и Кипър към Егея, а оттам – по протежение на бреговете на Средиземно море и през Северна Гърция и Балканите – към Европа.

Джон Гарстич откри през 1936 г. под развалините на библейския Йерихон (*Jericho*) предкерамичното неолитно селище Телес-Султан (*Tell-es-Sultan*), без да успее да осъзнае изключителното значение на това

¹ CHILDE 1936.

² VAVILOV 1926.



Обр. 1. Основни раннеолитни обекти от Предна Азия.

уникално откритие. Едва изследванията на Робърт Брейтууд³ през 1948 г. в Калат Джармо (*Qalat Jarmo*) и в Карим Шахир (*Karim Shahir*) на южните склонове на Загрос (*Zagros*) в Иракски Кюрдистан и тези на Катлин М. Кенион⁴ в Йерихон слагат началото на изследванията на тази епоха. Оттогава до днес са открити стотици подобни ранни селища в един огромен район, обхващащ Синайския полуостров, Палестина, Среден и Горен Ефрат и стигащ от проходите на планините Таурис и Загрос до Анатолийското високо плато, Иран и дори до Западен Пакистан (обр. 1):

Въз основа на периодизацията на Кенион (обр. 2)⁵ се проследяват етапите на развитието след края на палеолита (представен в Леванта от културата Кебария), през епипалеолита, представен от културите Натуфиен (*Natufien*) и Хиамиен (*Khiamien*), към тъй наречения “докерамичен неолит” (*Pre-Pottery Neolithic A* и *B*, *PPNA* и *PPNB*). Тази периодизация днес е допълнена с фазата на керамичния неолит (*PPNC*). Епохата на предкерамичния неолит обхваща времето между 9500 и 7000 г.пр.Хр., но развитието се прекъсва на много места още през осмото хилядолетие, едно явление, което бе опре-

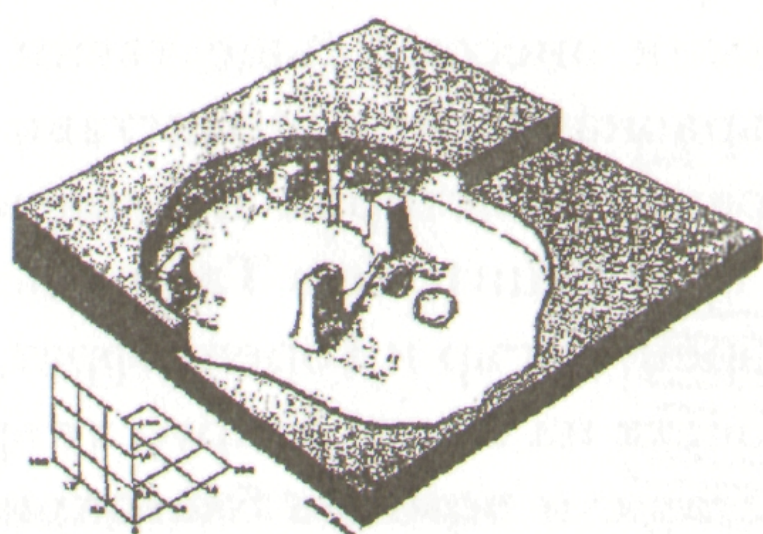
³ BRAIDWOOD/HOWE 1960.

⁴ KENYON 1957.

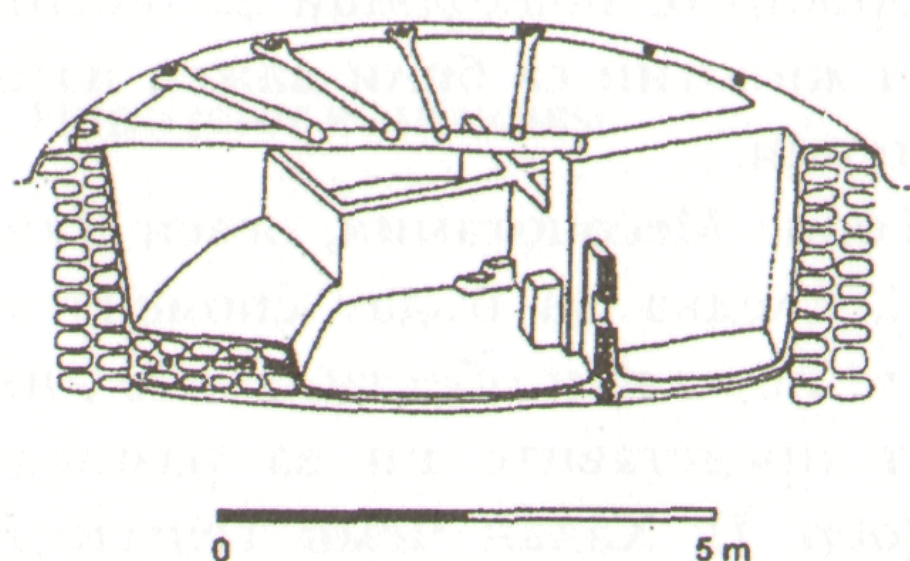
⁵ Преглед на проучванията у: CAUVIN 1997; AURENCHÉ/KOZŁOWSKI 1999.

КУЛТУРЕН ПЕРИОД	IC дати (г.пр.Хр.)	Културен период в Леванта		Района на Урфа Невали Чори (НЧ) Гьобекли Тепе (ГТ)	Чайьоню
Керамичен късен неолит	6900	PN		<i>Kumartepe</i>	Керамика
Предкерамичен ранен неолит А - С	7000	PPN C		<i>Mezraa Teleilat</i> <i>Гюрчюмене I</i>	сгради с големи стаи
	8800	PPN B	късен среден ранен	<i>Гюрчюмене II</i> НЧ IV/V НЧ II/III ГТ "правоъгълни сгради"	сгради с клетъчен план Паваж Сгради с канали Сгради със скари
	9.500	PPN A		НЧ I ГТ "кръгли сгради"	Кръгли сгради <i>Демиркьой</i> <i>Халан Чеми</i> <i>Кьортук Тепе</i>
Епипалеолит (мезолит)	10200 12500	Натуфиен			
Късен Палеолит	15500	Кебария		<i>Biris Mezarligi</i>	

Обр. 2. Сравнителна хронология на неолитизацията на Предна Азия



Обр. 3. Кермез Дерѐ, фаза 2. Кръгла сграда RAD с глинени колонии. PPNA (по T. Watkins)



Обр. 4. Йерф ел-Ахмар, селище от фаза 2/запад с кръгла обществена сграда. Култура Мурейбет, 9500-8700 кал. г.пр.Хр. (по D. Stordeur)



Обр. 5. Халан Чеми, фаза 1А, кръгла обществена сграда 1. PPNA (по ROSENBERG 1999)

делено като “ кризата PPNB ”. Дали това се дължи на климатични промени, изчерпване на ресурсите или на конфликти, остава въпрос на бъдещите изследвания.

Университетският проект “*Joint Istanbul-Chicago Universities Project*” ръководен в периода 1963–1972 г. от Халет Чамбъл (*Halet Çambel*) и Робърт Й. Брейтууд (*Robert J. Braidwood*), сложи началото на интензивни теренни изследвания в югоизточната турска провинция Сиирт в Диарбекир и около Урфа. Този район се нарича Горна Месопотамия. Тук бяха открити многобройни раннонеолитни селища, сред които за разкопки бе избрано Чайьоню Тепеси (*Çayönü Tepesi*) северно от Диарбекир. Обектът е разположен на брега на р. Богазчай (*Boğazçay*), приток на р. Тигър. Проучванията, проведени между 1964 и 1992 г., ни дават ценна и единствена за предна Азия представа за структурата на едно раннонеолитно поселение (обр. 6)⁶. Никъде другаде не може да бъде проследено развитието от кръглите каменни сгради на ловци и събиратели до

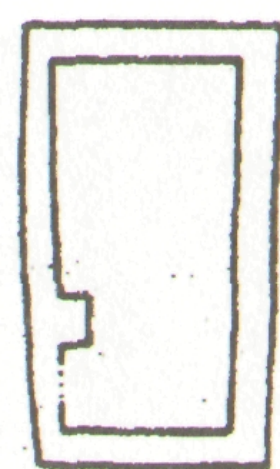
едно голямо ранноземеделско селище с диференцирана архитектура.

Многобройните нови разкопки в Горна Месопотамия внесоха съществени изменения в първоначалните представи за този етап от ранната история на човечеството. Дълбоко врязващите се в Таврус долини на реките Горен Тигър и Горен Ефрат, както и по склоновете на южен Таврус, твърде рано са предоставяли особено благоприятни условия за уседнал живот: богати извори на питейна вода и обилни валежи, съчетани с мек климат. Тук е имало гори от дъбове, шамфъстък и бадеми, както и огромни полета с диво просо. Първи са били култивирани едрозърнестата пшеница и лещата. Многобройните подходящи за опитомяване диви животни са били важен източник на протеини.

От Горна Месопотамия, освен Чайьоню (*Çayönü*), следва да бъдат споменати още следните по-важни обекти, които днес определят представите ни за разгледаната епоха (обр. 1): Халан Чеми Тепеси (*Hallan*

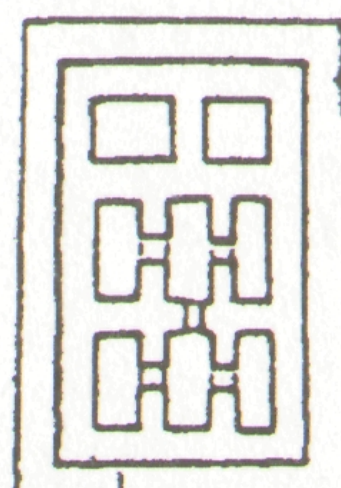
⁶ ÖZDOĞAN/BAŞGELEN 1999, 35–63.

Ниво сгради с големи стаи

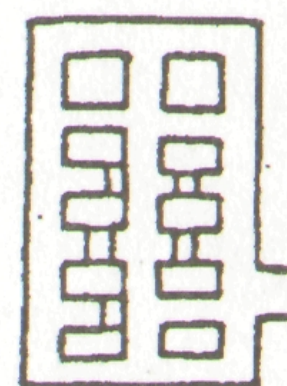


BF

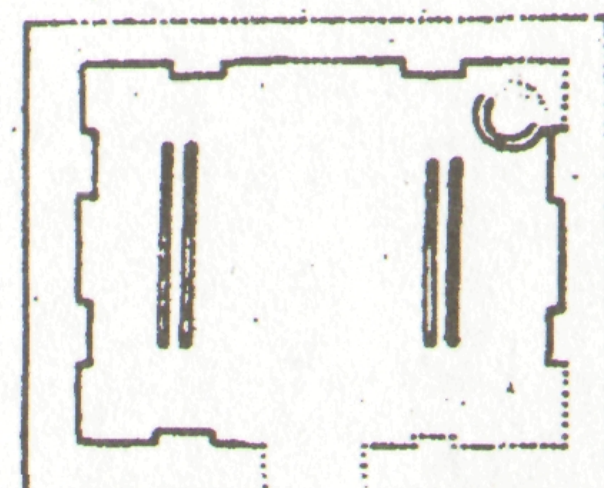
Ниво клетъчни сгради



CA

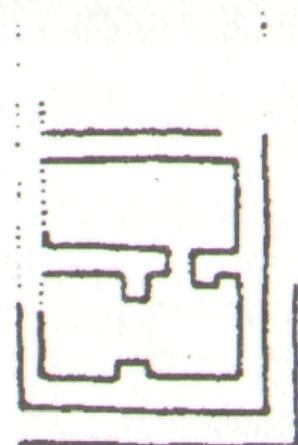


CF

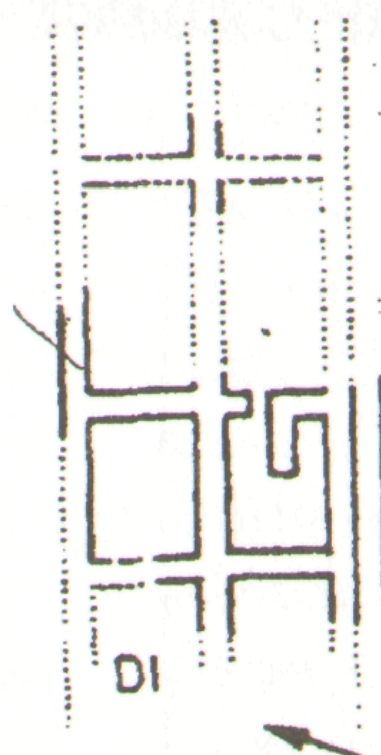


Сграда с терацо

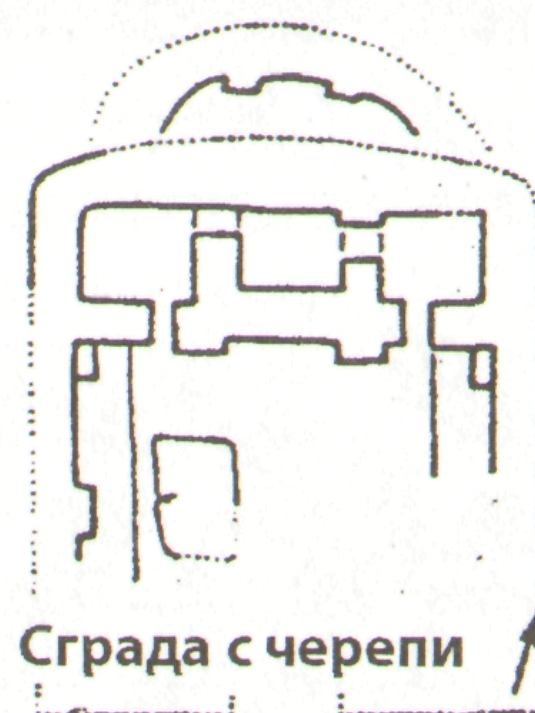
Междинно ниво



DA

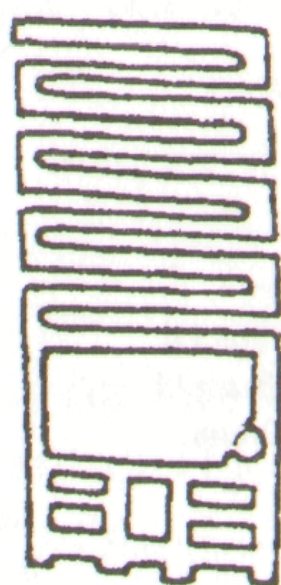


DI

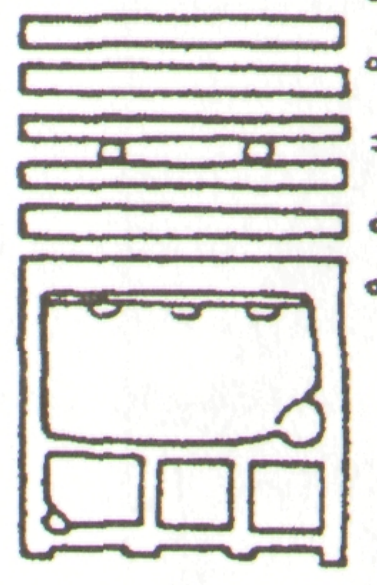


Сграда с черепи

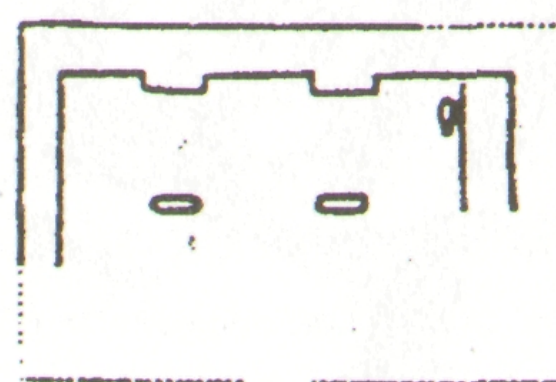
Ниво сгради със скари



GHV



GHD



Сграда с плочи

Ниво плет и мазилки



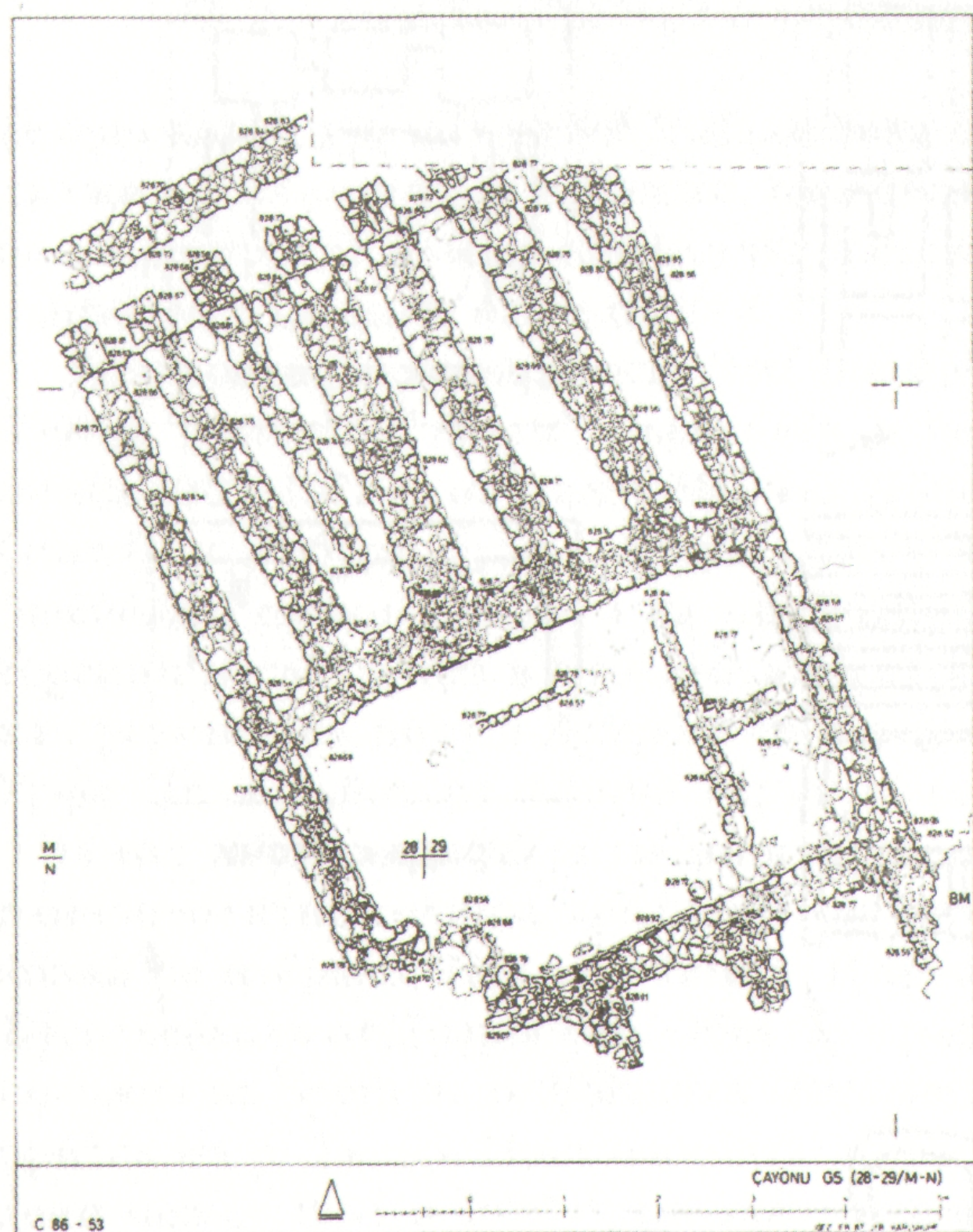
RA

0 10 м

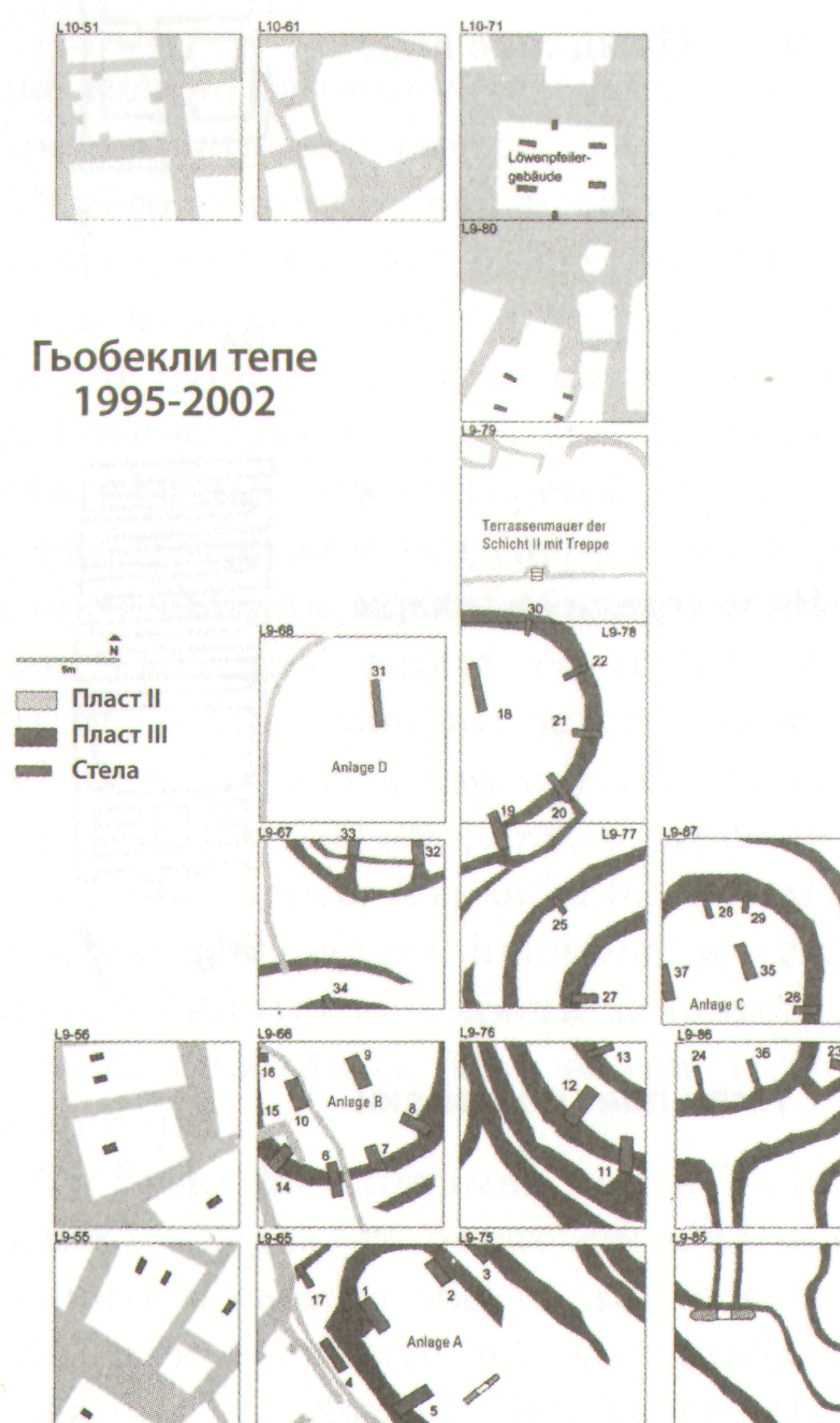
Обр. 6. Чайъоню. Диаграма на основните фази на раннонеолитното селище с по-важните сгради (по SCHIRMER 1990)



Обр. 7. Чайьоню, пласт 2.1. Сграда със скари GHE. PPNA (по M. Sicker-Akman)



Обр. 8. Чайьоню, пласт 2.1. Сграда със скари GS. PPNA (по M. Sicker-Akman)



Обр. 9. Гьобекли Тепе. Схематичен план на раннонеолитните сутеренни сгради – късен пласт II и по-ранен пласт III (по SCHMIDT 2004)

Cemî Tepesi) в югоизточната турска провинция Батман (прочувания на университета в Делауеър през 1991–1994 г., водени от М. Розенберг⁷); Демиркьой Тепеси (*Demirköy Tepesi*), водени от Розенберг през 1997 г.; Кьортик Тепе (*Körtik Tepe*), до Диарбекир, при вливането на р. Батман в Тигър, водени от В. Йозкая (*V. Özkaaya*) през 1990 г.; Невали Чори (*Nevalı Çori*) на р. Кантара Чайи, вливаща се в Ефрат (прочувания Х. Хаупман⁸ от университета в Хайделберг през 1983–1991 г.). Последният обект бе зает през 1992 г. от водите на язовир Ататюрк. На 50 км югозападно от Невали Чори се издига на 800 м височина Гьобекли Тепе (*Göbekli Tepe*)⁹, на северната граница между районите Урфа и Харран. От 1995 г. обектът е проучван от Клаус Шмит (*K. Schmidt*) от Немския археологически институт в Берлин. Други разкопки се провеждат в равнината Харран на обекта Гюрчютепе (*Gürcütepe*) в източните покрайнини на Урфа.

Резултатите от тези проучвания показват, че значението на северната периферия на “Плодородния полумесец” за неолитизационния процес е било подценявано. До сега, въз основа на данните от Леванта и Палестина (главно от Йерихон), се смяташе, че първата крачка към земеделието и животновъдството е била сторена от уседналото население в района на южен Левант. Този процес е започнал през късния Дриас (*Dryas III*) период, в края на натуфийската култура, около 10500 г.пр.Хр., и си е пробил път през периода Султания (*Sultania*), през PPNA (10500–9500 г.пр.Хр.). Д.Е. Бар-Йосеф (*D.E. Bar-Yosef*) локализира центъра на този процес в горските планински зони на Палестина. Оттам край долината на р. Йордан и по среден Ефрат неолитизацията се била разпространила към зоната на предпланините на Таурис–Загрос. Лионската школа, от своя страна, локализира първичен център на неолитизация по-скоро в северен Левант, откъдето тези постижения се разпространили посредством т.нар. “левантийски коридор”

към среден Ефрат, наречен от Й. Кувен (*J. Cauvin*) “вторична неолитизация”.¹⁰ Срещу този “левантоцентризм” днес говорят резултатите от проучванията на Кермез Деро (*Qermez Dere*) и в Немрик (*Nemrik*), на южния склон на планината Синяр в Ирак, както и в Халан Чеми, Демиркьой и Кьортик Тепе в полите на Таурис в Югоизточна Турция, които са протонеолитните предшественици на следващия етап в Горна Месопотамия. Този район беше удачно наречен от Оливер Оренш (*Olivier Aurenche*) “Златен триъгълник”.¹¹

Първата фаза на ранния неолит (PPNA) наречена Йерихон-Султания, започва след 10000 г.пр.Хр. (обр. 2). На този етап възникват селища и се забелязва известна регионална диференциация на явленията. Неолитната икономика си пробива път. Към тази фаза се отнасят Немрик 9 и Кермез Деро (обр. 3), Халан Чеми до Батман (обр. 5), Гьобекли Тепе при Урфа (обр. 10) и долният пласт на Чайбоню. По сирийския среден Ефрат към фазата се отнасят Мурейбет (*Mureybet I*), Йерф ел-Ахмар (*Jerf el-Ahmar*) (обр. 4)¹² и Тел Абр (*Tell Abr*). Овалните и кръгли помещения на вкопаните монументални сгради се отличават с 2–4 носещи колони в средата и подове тип “терацо”. Каменни скулптури говорят за едно евентуално култово предназначение на тези сгради (храмове)¹³.

Кермез Деро и Халан Чеми не са временни селища, макар ловът на големи газели и диви прасета да представлява все още основата на прехраната на населението. Няма земеделие, но има жътва на диворастящи житни растения. Вкопаните кръгли помещения са центрове на семеен и племенен живот с ранни белези на социална диференциация, за която говорят каменните стели. Установявани са далечни контакти: обсидианът от Халан Чеми е доставян от отдалечените на 100 км находища в Таврус. Тези най-ранни селища имат вече структурата на села.

В някои селища в Израел, като Нетив

⁷ ÖZDOĞAN/BAŞGELEN 1999, 25–33.

⁸ HAUPTMANN 1993; 2000; 2003; ÖZDOĞAN/BAŞGELEN 1999, 65–86.

⁹ SCHMIDT 1998; 1999; 2000; ÖZDOĞAN/BAŞGELEN 1999, 78–81.

¹⁰ CAUVIN 1997.

¹¹ AURENCHÉ/KOZŁOWSKI 1999, 97.

¹² STORDEUR/ABBÈS 2002.

¹³ AURENCHÉ/KOZŁOWSKI 1999, Abb. 6–8.



Обр. 10. Гъобекли Тепе, пласт III. Кръгла сутеренна сграда D, поглед от север



Обр. 11. Гъобекли Тепе, пласт III. Кръгла сграда В. Стела 6 с релеф върху челната страна на Т-образната глава и върху страничната плоскост



Обр. 12. Гъобекли Тепе, пласт III. "Сградата със змиите", стела 2 с релефи върху страничната плоскост в следния ред: диво говедо, лисица и щъркел. Височина над пейката 3,15 м

Хагдуд (*Netiv Hagdud*) или Гилгал (*Gilgal*), са открити първите признаци на начално земеделие, които се откриват и в PPNA в Сирия и в Мурейбет.

В тази начална фаза на неолита, която можем да определим като фаза на първите села, се срещат по-големи поселения на места с достатъчно извори или край реки, където има терени, подходящи за застрояване. В Кермез Деро или Халан Чеми, на площ от 0,5 хектара, за около 300 години са живели 20-30 фамилии или около 100-200 души. Тези селища се отнасят към най-големите от тази епоха.

Гьобекли Тепе, за разлика от споменатите, представлява различен тип организирано поселение.¹⁴ Неговата особена функция е подчертана от местоположението му на 800 м височина над Харанската равнина, както и с монументалността на постройките си. Хълмът има диаметър 300 м и височина 15 м. От най-древния строителен етап III досега са разкрити 4 мегалитни сгради с много големи размери (обр. 9). Едната е овална, другите – кръгли (обр. 10), а диаметърът им е от 9 до 20 м. В сградите има изправени многобройни монолитни стели, колони от варовик с Т-образни глави (*капители*). В сграда В има 6 такива, подредени в кръг край стените. Върху двете стели в центъра са изобразени в релеф лисици (обр. 13). Половината от откритите близо 43 стели (с височина от 3 до 5 м) носят плоски или релефни изображения, сред които има змия (обр. 11), газела и др. Върху една висока 3,12 м стела са изобразени едно над друго дивият предшественик на говедото (*Aurochs*), лисица, птица, а вероятно и заек (обр. 12), а на тясната страна на стелата е изобразен букраний. Особено популярно е изображението на змията, което в Гьобекли тепе се среща постоянно, а на една стела се преплитат 17 змии.¹⁵

В третата кръгла сграда С е открит уникален релеф върху стела: върху челната ѝ плоскост се виждат 5 птици (обр. 14). В основата на стелата се намира високият релеф на едно диво прасе, изобразено много живо-

писно (обр. 15), както и част от лисица.

В сграда D бе открит друг забележителен паметник на това триизмерно пластично изкуство, една картина на района около Урфа (обр. 16) заедно с птици, вероятно жерави, стоящи във вода, и тигри. На някои други стели се среща един геометричен символ, който би могъл да бъде емблемата на племето или на селището. Има и изображения на насекоми. Определени видове животни могат да се свържат с определени сгради от Гьобекли Тепе, което навежда на мисълта, че изобразените диви животни биха могли да имат и значението на тотеми. Човешките изображения играят в тази картинна галерия второстепенна роля. Само две от стелите са оформени антропоморфно.

Такива стели са известни и от по-късната фаза на Невали Чори.

От изображенията от Гьобекли Тепе личи, че традициите на обществото на ловците и събирателите са били все още живи. Очевидно е също, че ритуалното е било неразделна част от живота в дадена сграда. Изображенията отразяват анималистичните религиозни представи на едно общество, базирано върху лова. Тези изображения могат да бъдат свързани със света на къснопалеолитния човек, какъвто го познаваме от пещерните рисунки на франко-кантабрийския културен кръг в Западна Европа. Нашите изображения имат вероятно шаманистична основа, тъй като дивото прасе, бикът, лисицата, лъвът, газелата, птиците и змиите са животни-символи, чийто особени способности са интересували неолитните шамани – било, за да ги владеят, било, за да им се противопоставят. В големите храмове вероятно са се практикували ритуали, свързани с раждане, сватби или смърт, като са били част от живота на племето. На мнение съм, че тези сгради не могат да бъдат еднозначно определяни като “храмове”. Височинното селище Гьобекли тепе е елитарен център на селищната система на района. Тук е открита и работилница за кремъчни изделия и за производство на каменни скулптури, така че може да се предположи, че

¹⁴ SCHMIDT 1998; 1999; 2000; 2006; ÖZDOĞAN/BAŞGELEN 1999, 78-81.

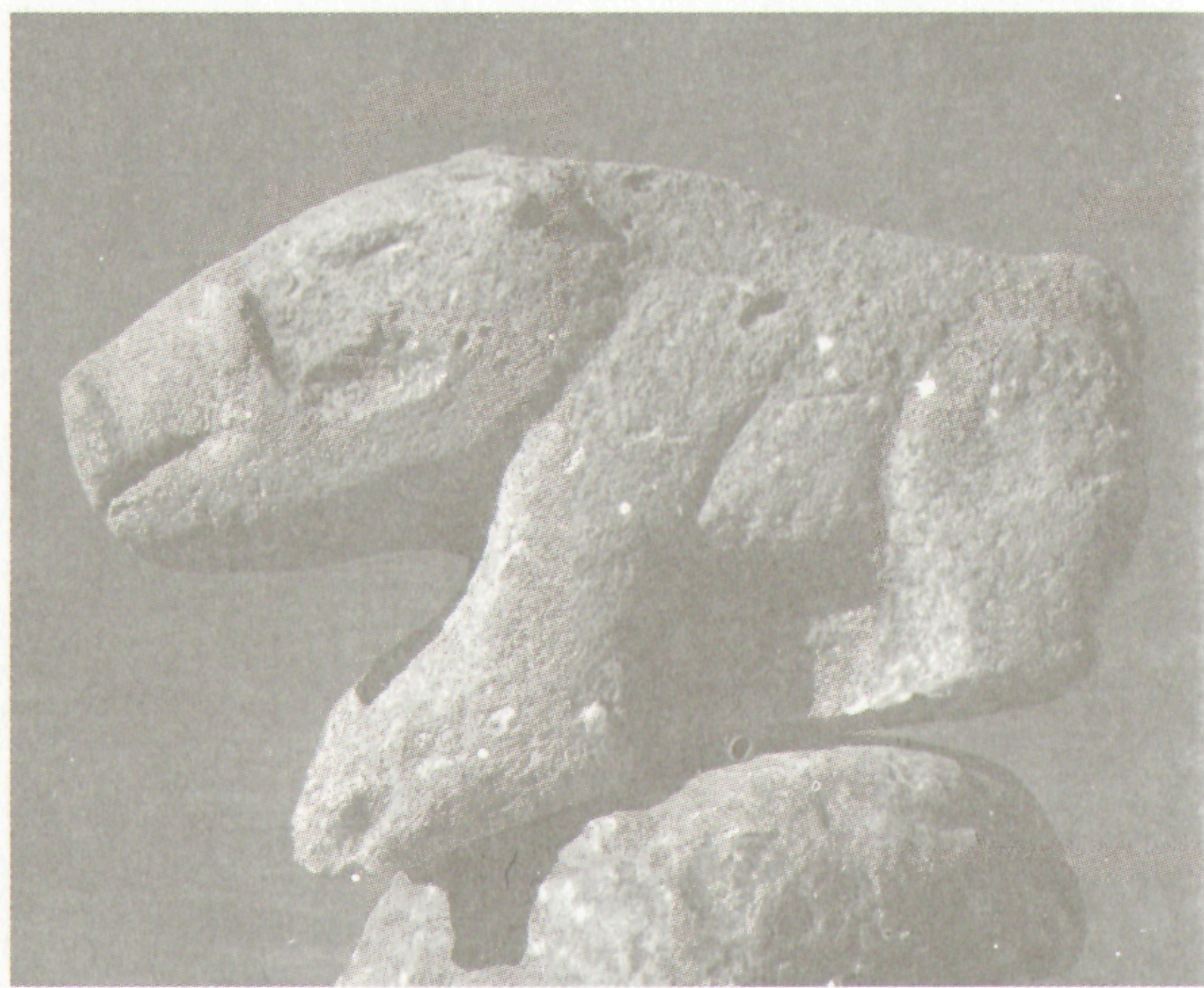
¹⁵ ÖZDOĞAN/BAŞGELEN 1999, 79, fig. 34.



Обр. 13. Гъобекли Тепе, пласт III. “Сградата със змиите”, стела 9 с релефно изображение на лисица. Височина на горната част 1,60 м



Обр. 14. Гъобекли Тепе, пласт III. Кръгла сграда С, стела 12, с птици на фона на планински ландшафт или уловени в мрежи (?) – релефно изображение на главата на стелата. Надолу по стелата следват диво прасе и лисица



Обр. 15. Гъобекли Тепе, пласт III. Кръгла сграда С, скулптура на диво прасе



Обр. 16. Гъобекли Тепе, пласт III. Кръгла сграда D, стела 33 с релефи на два жерава, пиктограма и вълнисти линии

то е било и център за размяна на стоки. От тази височина е могло добре да се наблюдава движението на стадата диви животни в равнината. Откритият тук костен материал съдържа 18% диво прасе, 20% диво говедо, 10% диво магаре и 43% газели, следвани от нисък процент елени и диви кози.

Началото и средната фаза на началния неолит (*PPNB*) е маркирано от появата на един нов тип сгради – правоъгълните, и от нова вътрешна структура на селищата. Тези елементи са свързани с новия начин на живот и земеделието. За тази фаза най-ценни данни имаме от Чайьоню (обр. 6).¹⁶ Тук след най-ранните кръгли постройки следват правоъгълни със “скарни”, отнасящи се към времето на прехода от *PPNA* към *PPNB*. След тях са правоъгълните сгради с канали и павирани подове от периода *PPNB*. През следващата фаза (късен *PPNB*) вече се строят т.нар. “камерни сгради”, а през последната (*PPNC*) – големи правоъгълни постройки.

Преходът между *PPNA* и *PPNB* (9500–8000 г.пр.Хр) бива свързван с нарастване на броя на населението и промени в социалната структура, предизвикани от развиващото се земеделие, от наченките на domestикация на животните и от интензивен специализиран лов. Мобилността на човешките групи е била значително ограничена. В строителството се използва голямо количество камъни за цокъла на сградите и глинобитна надстройка. Правоъгълните сгради имат размери 9,20–13,50 м дължина и 5–6,40 м ширина. Фактът, че във фазата *PPNB* в Чайьоню наред с малкото градинско земеделие все още ловът остава основен източник на храни, говори, че на този етап в отделените селища са съжителствали различни икономически структури. Под покрива на една сграда сега се очертават специализирани сектори за: 1. живеене; 2. за държане на животните; 3. съхранение на запаси; 4. място за изработка и съхранение на оръдия и др. Някои от тези дейности могат да се упражняват и извън сградата, върху прилежащия ѝ терен. В дългите сгради тип “скара” от Чайьоню II личат такива работни сектори (обр. 6, 7-8).

Павираната и снабдена с огнище централна част на сградата е сектор за живеене и работа, а помещението над “скарата” вероятно е било склад. Типът сгради от развитата фаза на *PPNB* е едно по-нататъшно развитие на сградата “със скара”, което се наблюдава в ниво 3/4 на Чайьоню, където има постройки с канали и павирани подове.

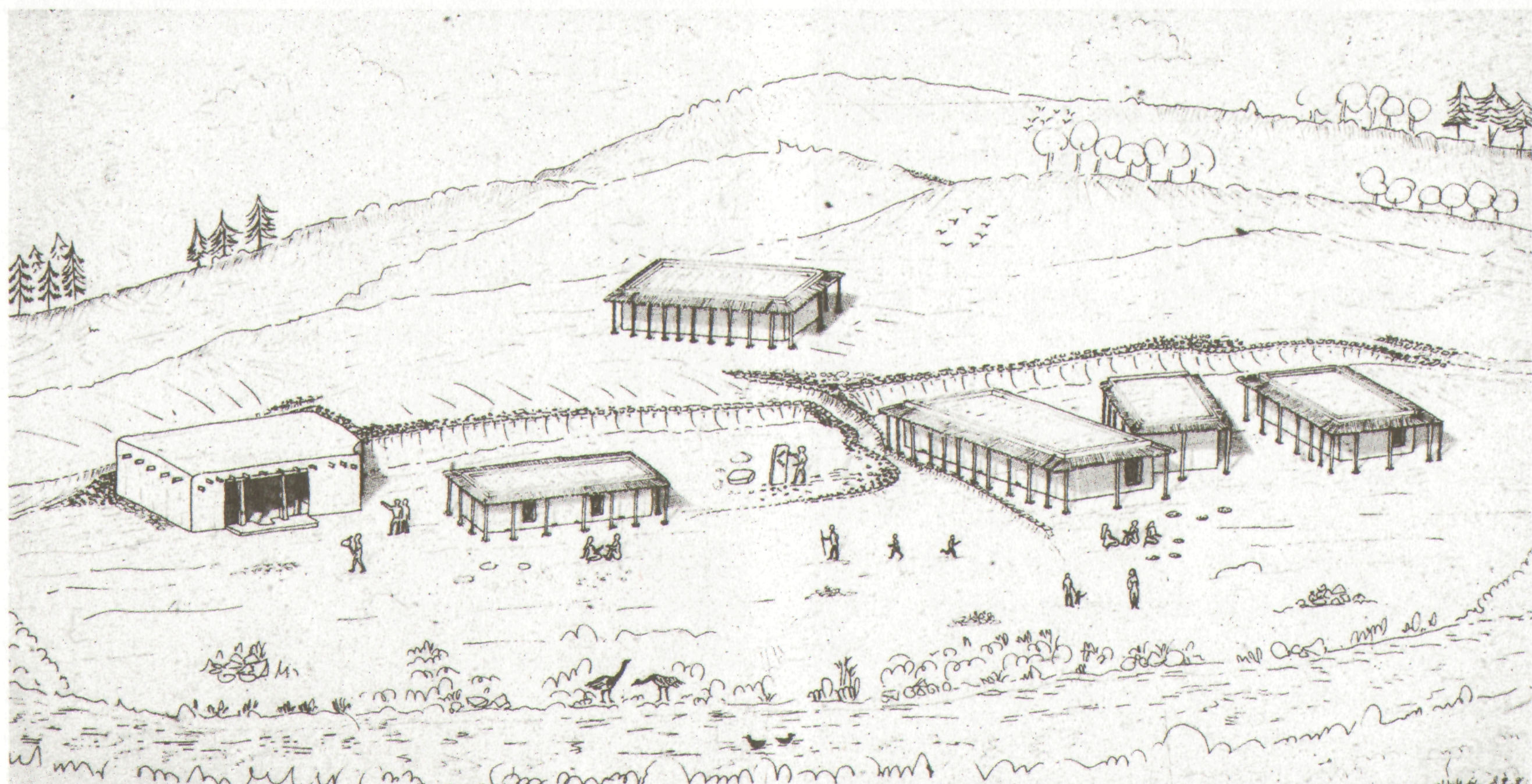
Що се отнася до Невали Чори с неговите 2 хектара застроена площ, то е по-скоро едно малко селце (обр. 17).¹⁷ Центърът му е разположен на една 90 × 40 м широка тераса в източната част на долината на Кантара. Тук бяха проследени пет хоризонта със сгради от типа на снабдените с “канални”. Планът показва дву- или триделно застрояване за разлика от Чайьоню, където сградите с “канални” са двуделни.

В трети хоризонт¹⁸ се срещат една до друга сгради с различна конструкция, наредени успоредно една до друга, с врати, гледащи към долината. Те са дълги до 19 м и широки до 7 м и са строени много старателно. Основният подиум е прорязан с канали, изградени в следната последователност: най-напред с големи каменни блокове са изградени дългите ленти, след което с по-дребни камъни са запълнили пространствата между блоковете. Възникналите по този начин “канални” са покрити с плочи. Отгоре е насипан пласт камъни, с което приключва изграждането на подовата платформа. Върху нея от камъни и кал са издигани стените. Отвън и отвътре стените и подовете са били обмазвани с дебел слой глина. Особено отвън се наблюдават многократните масивни обмазвания, без да се закриват отворите на каналите, така, че те остават добре проветряеми. За цялостната реконструкция на такава сграда се обръщаме към етнографски паралели от XIX в. от Анатолия и Предна Азия. Там от хилядолетия съществува такава селска архитектура, много добре приспособена към местните условия. За реконструкция на кръглите сгради са възможни леки конструкции: Халан Чеми (обр. 5), Айн Малаха (*Ain Mallaha*), Чайьоню I. За реконструкцията на по-масивните сгради имаме

¹⁶ ÖZDOĞAN/BAŞGELEN 1999, 35–63.

¹⁷ HAUPTMANN 1993. ÖZDOĞAN/BAŞGELEN 1999, 70–78.

¹⁸ HAUPTMANN 1993, 39-41 Abb. 2-3. ÖZDOĞAN/BAŞGELEN 1999, 70–74, fig. 1-6.



Обр. 17. Невали Чори. Селище II. (реконструкция S. Hauptmann-Hamza)



Обр. 18. Невали Чори. Каменна скулптура на животно, дължина 6,5 см



Обр. 19. Невали Чори. Птицевидна глава от варовик, височина 8,9 см



Обр. 20. Невали Чори. Миниатюрна маска от варовик, височина 4,4 см

примери от Мурейбет¹⁹ или Йерф ел-Ахмар (обр. 4).

По протежение на дългите стени в Невали Чори, в Чайьоню и в Чафер Хьуюк (*Cafer Höyük*) на Горен Ефрат²⁰ се проследяват каменните гнезда за диреците, носещи покривната конструкция, като тук оставяме настрана въпроса, дали се касае за плоски или скосени покриви. Един глинен модел от Чайьоню е указание за плосък покрив, както и за други детайли на конструкцията. Благоприятните природогеографски условия в полите на Таврус около Невали Чори предлагат в изобилие дървен материал, камъни и глина, което позволява масивно строителство. Ситуацията в Невали Чори позволява реконструкция с издаден навън покрив на дългите стени на сградата (обр. 17). Една реконструкция с наклонен покрив изглежда неприемлива.

Реконструкцията на функциите на вътрешните части на сградите в Невали Чори е възможна само въз основа на хоризонталната планиграфия на артефактите. Съгласно анализа на кремъчната индустрия на Клаус Шмит пластините от сърпове стоят на първо място, следвани от стрелички тип Библос (*Byblos*). С това получаваме указание, че наред с лова е имало жътва и начално земеделие. Пластинките от сърпове се срещат най-често около къщите, където са локализиранни местата за обработка на кремък. Сред находките се срещат и единични маниста от мед и малахит. Това е едно указание за ранното начало на металургията. Най-ранните подобни находки произхождат от Тел Мазгалия (*Tell Magzalya*) в Ирак, Тел Рамад (*Tell Ramad*) в Сирия, Ашъккли Хьуюк (*Aşıklı Höyük*) и Чайьоню в Турция.²¹ Сред находките трябва да спомена и гривните от варовик, както и изделията и оръдията от кост.

Ботаническите и зоологически останки ни дават картината на едно селище, чиято стопанска база е бил ловът (на див кон, на дива говеда (*Aurochs*), елени и диво прасе), с начинаеща domestikация на козата и овцата и вече развиващо се начално земеделие с отглеждане на еднозърнеста пшеница

(*einkorn*), двузърнеста пшеница (*emmer*), бобови, грахови и събиране на шам-Фъстък, бадеми, грозде и пр.

В пласт 4 и 3 личи и една особено голяма постройка (номер 6), чийто план се отличава от този на другите сгради с "канал": в две от помещенията има леко вкопани огнища, в друго изглежда е имало производствено ателие; тук са открити освен хаван и чукалка, още костни чукове и кремъчни чукалки, говорещи за обработка на кремък. Тук вероятно са произвеждани и различни по размери скулптури. С това стигнахме до онази група находки от втората половина на 9 хил.пр.Хр., която по численост и качество нямат равни в света.

Дребната пластика от глина и кремък е разнообразна. Сред над седемстотинте глинени фигурки 30 са зооморфни, а 670 – антропоморфни.²² В Мунхата (*Munhata*) това съотношение е 27,9 % към 72,1 %. Антропоморфните фигурки се състоят 50 % от мъжки (с престилка) и женски (без дрехи). Сред последните изпъква една красиво моделирана "Венера от Невали Чори". Фигурките не биха могли да се свържат с конкретни религиозни представи, те по-скоро са играли някаква роля в домашните култово-магически процедури.

Дребната каменна пластика от Невали Чори обхваща над 100 броя. Те отразяват цялото многообразие на раннохолоценската фауна на Среден Ефрат: пантера, лъв, мечка, диво прасе, див кон, орел в полет. Част от силно стилизираните зооморфни фигури не могат да се идентифицират, особено майсторство личи в предаването на човешката глава, чийто черти са предадени пестеливо и с малко детайли. Едно такова стилизирано изображение прилича на бухал (обр. 19). При други изображения може би става дума за стилизирана маска (обр. 20), каквито познаваме от много находища в Палестина, например от Нахал Хемар (*Nahal Hemar*). В монументално изпълнение имаме паралели от Гьобекли Тепе. Истински майсторско е изпълнението на една друга скулптура на човешка глава (обр. 21).

¹⁹ CAUVIN 1997, 64-65 fig. 15.

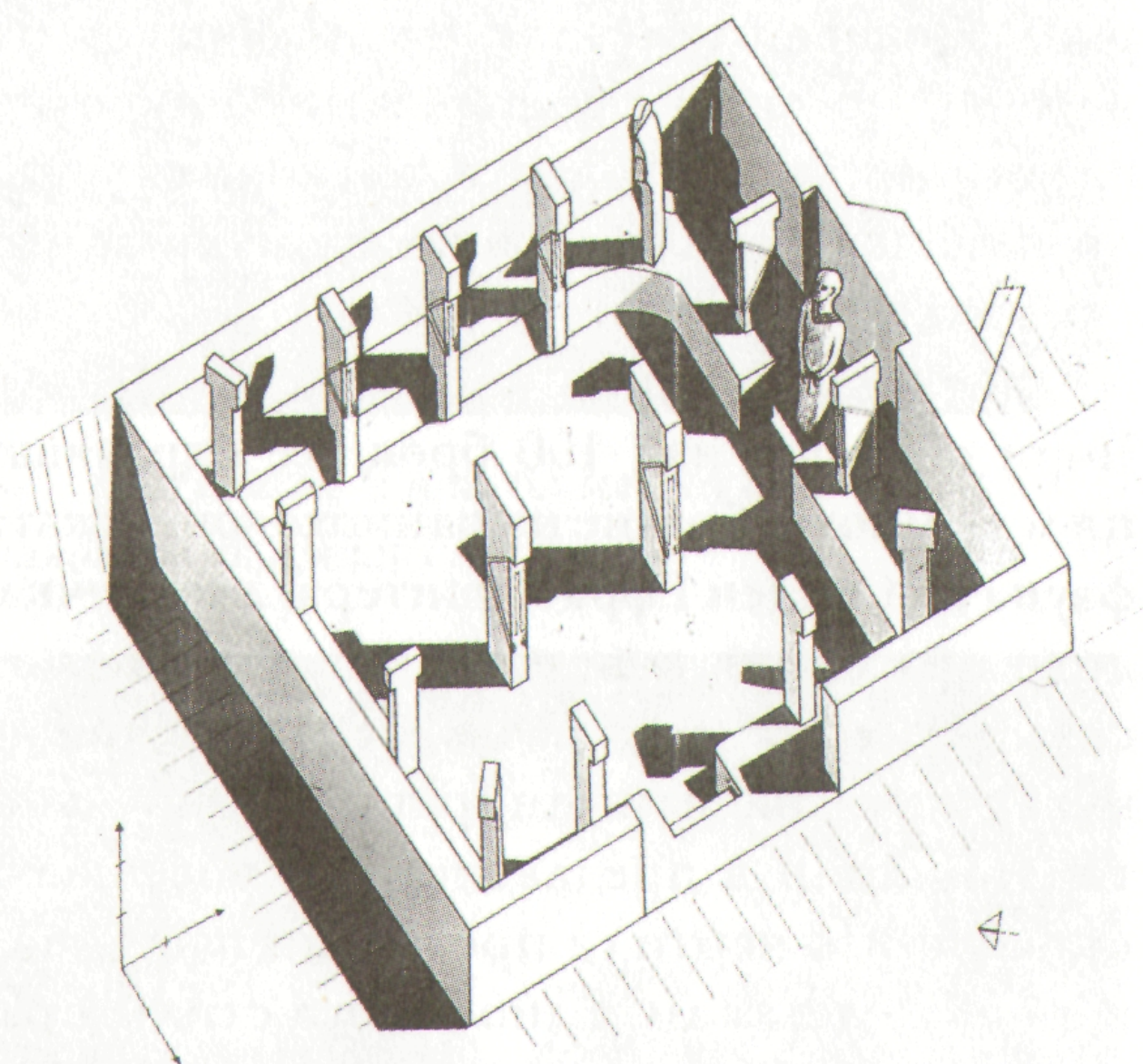
²⁰ ÖZDOĞAN/BAŞGELEN 1999, 89-90.

²¹ ÖZDOĞAN/BAŞGELEN 1997, 54, 77.

²² ÖZDOĞAN/BAŞGELEN 1997, 77, fig. 21.

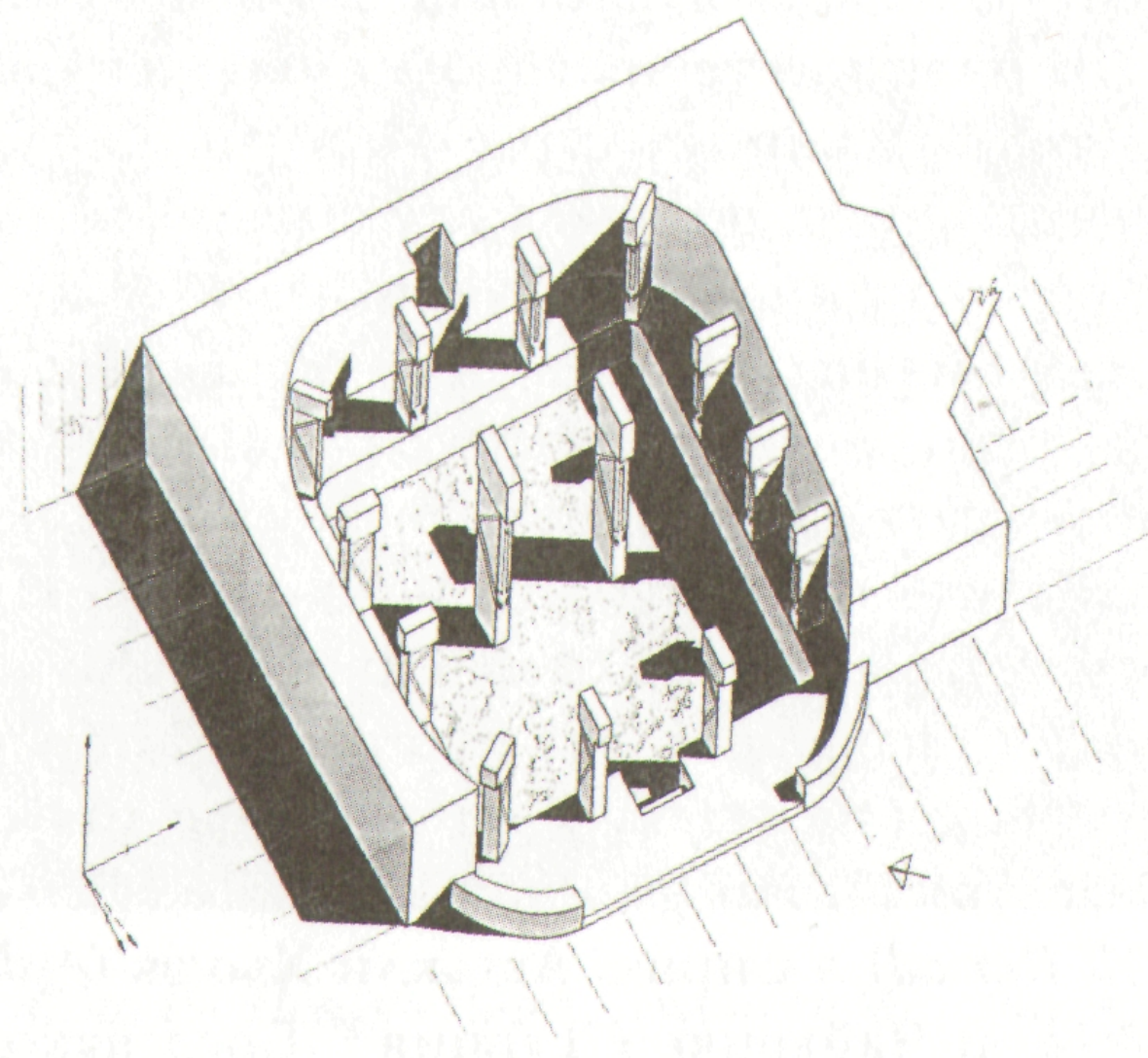


Обр. 21 а, b. Невали Чори. Глава във фас и профил. Варовик, височина 5,5 см



Обр. 22. Невали Чори. Каменна сутеренна сграда II, аксонометрична реконструкция (рисунок S. Hauptmann-Hamza)

Възможно е тези каменни пластики да са модели за изпълнението на голямоформатни скулптури. Тази идея се поддържа от няколко примера на модели на стели в “миниатюра”, които еднозначно повтарят монументалните стели, които срещаме в един



Обр. 23. Невали Чори. Каменна сутеренна сграда III, аксонометрична реконструкция (рисунок S. Hauptmann-Hamza)

друг тип сграда, отличаваща се съществено от гореописаните. Тя е разположена в западния край на терасата на селището и има три строителни фази (обр. 17).²³ От най-старата постройка са запазени само следи. Втората постройка е почти квадратна (обр. 22 и 24)

²³ HAUPTMANN 1993, 41-56, fig. 4-16.



Обр. 24. Невали Чори. Каменна сутеренна сграда II с терацо

има площ от 188 кв.м. и е дълга почти 14 м. Вътре покрай стената се проследява каменна пейка, на еднакви разстояния прекъсната от вертикални Т-образни стели. Две такива са изправени в центъра. В най-изпъкналата стена има ниша, предназначена вероятно за поставянето на централен идол (от дърво?). Подът е от терацо, нетипичен за този вид постройки. Познаваме го от Ча-йбоню и редица други обекти около Урфа. Стените са били измазвани с бяла глина и вероятно цветно изрисувани.

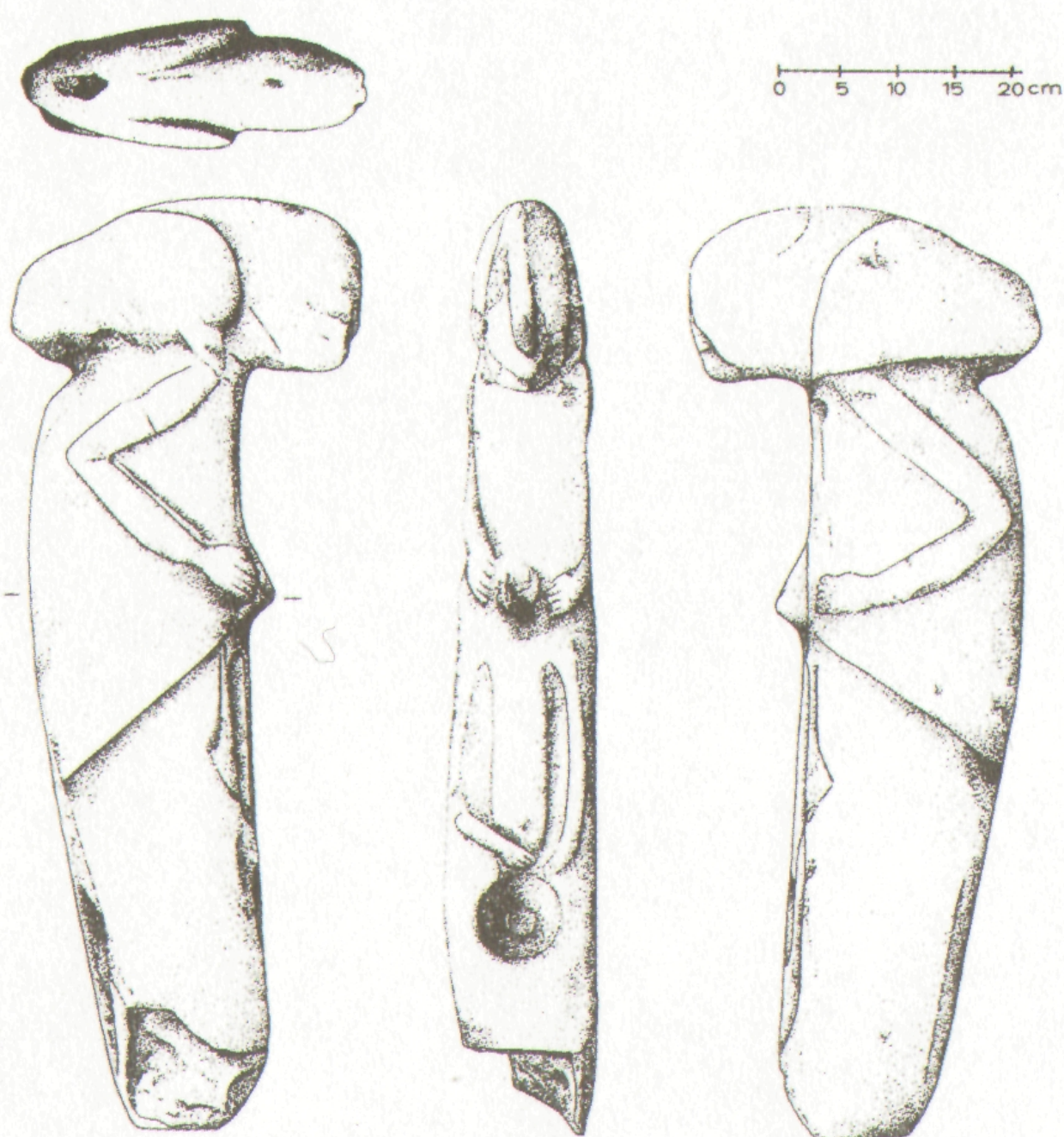
Най-късната строителна фаза III (обр. 23 и 25) е изградена направо върху предходната постройка, което сочи ясна приемственост. Площта е 178 кв.м., основната концепция с пейка, стени и терацов под се запазва. Стелите са 10, вградени в пейката, а две фланкират входа. По-съществената промяна е, че от входа се вижда направо срещуположната ниша за култовото изображение на задната стена. От всички останали сгради в Невали Чори тази постройка се отличава и по това, че е вкопана и от входа се слиза в нея по стъпала. Предназначени-



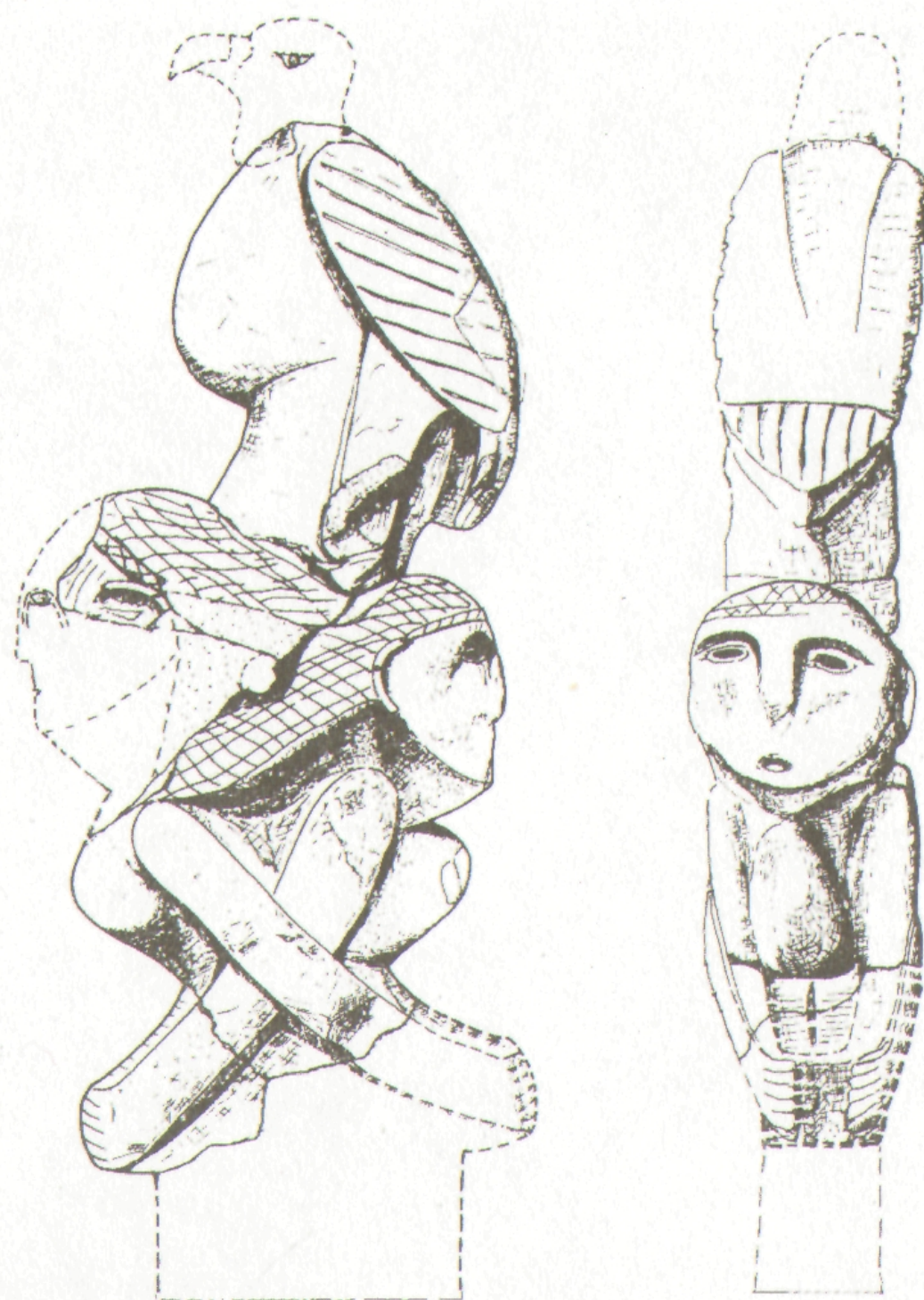
Обр. 25. Невали Чори.

Каменна сутеренна сграда III с терацо

ето на тази особена сграда се подчертава от наличните монументални скулптури, което позволява нейната интерпретация като храм. Две монолитни стели представляват стилизирани човешки фигури, 3 м високи. Наричаме ги фигури-пазачи. Друга стилизирана антропоморфна стела е позната от Килисик (*Kilisik*) при Нимфеона в близост до античната Арсамея при Ески Кахта, об-



Обр. 26. Килсик при Кахта, провинция Адияман. Антропоморфна стела, височина 80 см



Обр. 27. Невали Чори. Две срещуположни женски фигури върху горната част на стела. Над фигурите - птица. Варовик, височина ок. 1 м



Обр. 28. Поглед отпред към по-добре запазената женска фигура



Обр. 29. Невали Чори. Част от стела с изображение на женска глава. Височина на главата 29 см

ласт Адияман (обр. 26)²⁴ Една 50 см голяма фигура на птица може да се интерпретира като орел, въз основа на един паралел от Гьобекли Тепе²⁵. За отбелязване е и една глава и един фрагмент от глава на една човеко-птица (вис. 23 см)²⁶, която напомня някои произведения от дребната пластика.

Уникална за раннонеолитната монументална пластика е една композиция от различни скулптурни детайли (обр. 27–28), показваща две срещуположно седнали женски фигури, възседнати от птица и едно митично същество. Косите на жените са обвити в мрежа. Композицията напомня етнографски паралели на тотемни стълбове. Може би тук са изобразени представите за живота и смъртта, а птицата е връзката с отвъдното. Древноегипетската птица БА също е носител на душите на мъртвите, но тези аналогии за съжаление нямат доказателствена стойност.

Прави впечатление обстоятелството, че



Обр. 30. Йерф ел-Ахмар. Полировъчен камък за стрели. PPNA (по STORDEUR 2003).

²⁴ HAUPTMANN 2000

²⁵ HAUPTMANN 1993, 66, Abb. 23.

²⁶ HAUPTMANN 1993, 60, Abb. 21

Обр. 31. Невали Чори. Фрагмент от каменен съд с релеф на две женски фигури, танцуващи около костенурка. Височина 13,5 см





Обр. 32. Невали Чори. Глава от варовикова стела с извиваща се на тила ѝ змия от каменна сграда III. Височина 37 см

в ритуалната сфера на културата Невали Чори, не откриваме прочутата “Велика майка” (*Magna mater*), която в литературата се свързва с появата на земеделието. Женски изображения доминират в къснонеолитния Чатал Хьоюк, но се срещат в Невали Чори само сред глинени фигурки. В монументалната пластика те се срещат само заедно с птици, като например скулптурата на една женска глава, грабната от птица (обр. 29), което добре личи при поглед от страни. Същият мотив, представляващ човешки череп, грабнат от граблива птица, срещаме и върху една скулптура от Гьобекли Тепе. Мотивът напомня стенописът от Чатал Хьоюк VII, на който орли витаят над хора без глави²⁷. Двете изображения биха могли да са отражение на култа към мъртвите, който предполага пренасянето на духа в отвъдното. Присъствието на грабливата птица в култа можа да бъде проследено назад към



Обр. 33. Йени Махале (Yeni Mahalle) в района на Урфа. Антропоморфна мъжка варовикова стела, височина 1,93 м

натуфийската култура (Йерф ел-Ахмар), изобразена върху един каменен изправител за стрели в комбинация със змия (обр. 30).

Друг релеф от Гьобекли Тепе показва две танцуващи човешки фигури – вероятно част от ловна сцена (обр. 31)²⁸. Наличието на монументална мъжка статуя като централна фигура на култа доскоро беше само предположение.

²⁷ MELLAART 1967, 166-168, pl. 45, 48, 49

²⁸ ÖZDOĞAN/BAŞGELEN 1999, 76, fig. 17.

Откриването на повредена мъжка глава в нишата на сграда III (обр. 32) заедно с човешки торс от запълнителя на същата сграда²⁹ са указание за това, че в голяма култова ниша на сграда II вероятно се е намирала монументална мъжка статуя. Подобна 1,92 м мъжка стела е открита в раннеолитното селище под стария град на Урфа (обр. 33)³⁰. В очите най-вероятно са били инкрустирани парчета обсидиан. Мъжкото божество вероятно е играло главна роля в раннеолитните култове, което се потвърждава и от многобройните груби итифалически мъжки изображения от Гьобекли Тепе. Женското начало, както виждаме, се появява през тази ранна епоха само свързано с птици.

Височинното селище от Гьобекли тепе обогати нашите представи за диференцираните и твърде сложни религиозни представи на началния неолит с много нови находки. Тамошните разкопки за сега установяват две фази и показват наличието на един комплекс значително по-голям от Невали Чори и Чайьоню.³¹

Централната сграда определено има култово предназначение, за което говорят пейките покрай стените и Т-образните стели (обр. 34). Четвъртитото помещение от най-късния строителен етап има четири стели, върху две от които в нисък релеф са представени лъвовете с отворена уста (обр. 35). Елегантното изображение почти напомня елинистическите пластики. Друга Т-образна стела носи изображението на пантеробразно животно (обр. 30), което напомня едно подобно изображение от Чатал Хьюк³², смятано от Меларт за изображение на жена. То е многократно интерпретирано като иконографско доказателство за водещо женско божество през неолита. Мъжкият партньор бил изобразен като бик, казва Меларт, а след него и Кувен.³³ И двамата говорят за дуалитета на една доминираща женска богиня и нейният мъжки пандант.

Отсъствието на женско божество сред разглежданата тук пластика е факт, затова

е изненадващо изображението върху едно от стъпалата на сградата със стелите с лъвовете, на една женска фигура по гръб, определено свързана със секса (обр. 37). Този мотив е свързан и с идеята за плодородието и се среща върху един релеф от Невали Чори³⁴, както и в други неолитни култури, например върху един медальон от Ахилеон (*Achilleion*) в Тесалия.

Началният неолит от Горна Месопотамия ни представя картината на развитието на обществото на ловците (Халан Чеми и Гьобекли Тепе от *PPNA*) през селищата със смесена икономика като Невали Чори от *PPNB*, до чисто аграрните общества като Гюрчютере. Така заедно с промените в стопанската структура вървят и промените в религиозните представи на човека, които намират своето отражение в разнообразната иконография по стелите.

Светът, отразен в скулптурите от Гьобекли Тепе, които ни дават представа за тотемните представи, все още е на архаичните ловци и събирачи.

Друга култова концепция лежи в по-късните скулптури от Невали Чори. Почитано е мъжко божество, свързано със змията, символизираща може би отвъдното. Същата роля може да се припише и на орела върху женската глава. Наред с това са налице многобройни данни за култ към предците, най-добре представен от депата от черепи открити в Невали Чори и Чайьоню. Антропоморфните стели също могат да бъдат интерпретирани като изображения на предците или като такива на духове. Този аспект намира потвърждение във фигурите от Айн Газал (*Ain Ghazal*) и Йерихон.³⁵ Другите мотиви, като костенурката – биват свързани с култа към плодородието. В светлината на новите находки дългият хилядолетен път изминат от човека, от палеолитния ловец до неолитния земеделец и животновъд, се явява многомащабен и твърде сложен, за да бъде обяснен само с понятието “Неолитна революция”.

Чайьоню и Невали Чори дават представа

²⁹ HAUPTMANN 1993, 60 Abb. 21.

³⁰ HAUPTMANN 2003.

³¹ SCHMIDT 2006, 227-240.

³² MELLAART 1967, 125-127, fig. 38, 40, pl. VII.

³³ CAUVIN 1997, 50-54.

³⁴ HAUPTMANN 1993, 67, Abb. 26.

³⁵ CAUVIN 1997, 152-156, pl. 4-6; AURENCHÉ/KOZŁOWSKI 1999, 68-69, fig. 6-10



Обр. 34. Гъобекли Тепе. “Сградата със стелите с лъвовете”, 4 стели с глави и каменна пейка.
Късен пласт II



Обр. 35. Гъобекли Тепе, пласт II. Стела 2 с релеф на скачащ лъв от “Сградата със стелите с лъвовете”. Височина 1,45 м



Обр. 36. Гъобекли Тепе. Случайна находка на капител на стела с изображение на животно.
Най-голяма височина 74 см

Обр. 37. Гъобекли Тепе, пласт II. “Сградата със стелите с лъвовете”. Варовикова плоча с издърганата женска фигура по гръб. Височина 27 см



за възникването на едно добре структурирано в икономическо и социално отношение общество. В Чайбоню селището е разделено на две части от празен "площад"³⁶. Поне що се отнася до последната строителна фаза изглежда северната половина да е резервирана за по-представителните сгради. Тук, както и в Невали Чори, култовият сектор лежи изолирано встрани от селището (обр. 17).

За отбелязване е обаче, че в Чайбоню, въпреки общите архитектурни детайли, като подове тип терацо, вкопаване, пейки край стените, депониране на черепи и др., липсват стели с релефни изображения.³⁷ Въпреки това, поради редицата общи елементи в Невали Чори нареждаме и храмовете от Чайбоню сред най-ранните култови сгради на Стария Ориент.

Ашъккли Хьоюк и късният Чатал Хьоюк на анатолийското плато показват различна строителна традиция. Нейните корени трябва да се търсят в Горна Месопотамия. В централна Анатолия селищата се състоят от тясно прилепени помещения, разделени от улички и площадчета. Всички сгради са така интегрирани, че не изпъкват култови

постройки. Една по-голяма сграда от Ашъккли Хьоюк³⁸ би могла да служи за събирания на населението. В Централна Анатолия, както и в Югоизточна Европа, култовата сфера се явява интегрирана в нормалните жилищни сгради. За пример мога да посоча Сескло (*Sesklo*) в Тесалия, Неа Никомедия (*Nea Nikomedeia*) в Гръцка Македония, Долнослав в България и Парца (*Parța*) в Банат.

С разпространението на новия начин на живот на уседналите земеделци и животновъди от Анатолия към Югоизточна Европа са се разпространили и нови религиозни представи и култове, което личи от малката неолитна пластика.

Видяхме, че през епохата на ранния неолит Горна Месопотамия и склоновете на Таурус са представлявали една гъсто населена зона, отнасяща се към люлката на човешката цивилизация.

Находките от разкопките на Гьобекли Тепе и Невали Чори се съхраняват в археологическия музей в Шанлъурфа. Фотографии: Ефратски архив в Хайделберг и Германски археологически институт в Берлин.

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³⁶ ÖZDOĞAN/BAŞGELEN 1999, 49, fig. 31, 32, 35

³⁷ SCHIRMER 1983; HAUPTMANN 1993, 55-57, Abb. 28.

³⁸ ÖZDOĞAN/BAŞGELEN 1999, 123-126, fig. 3.

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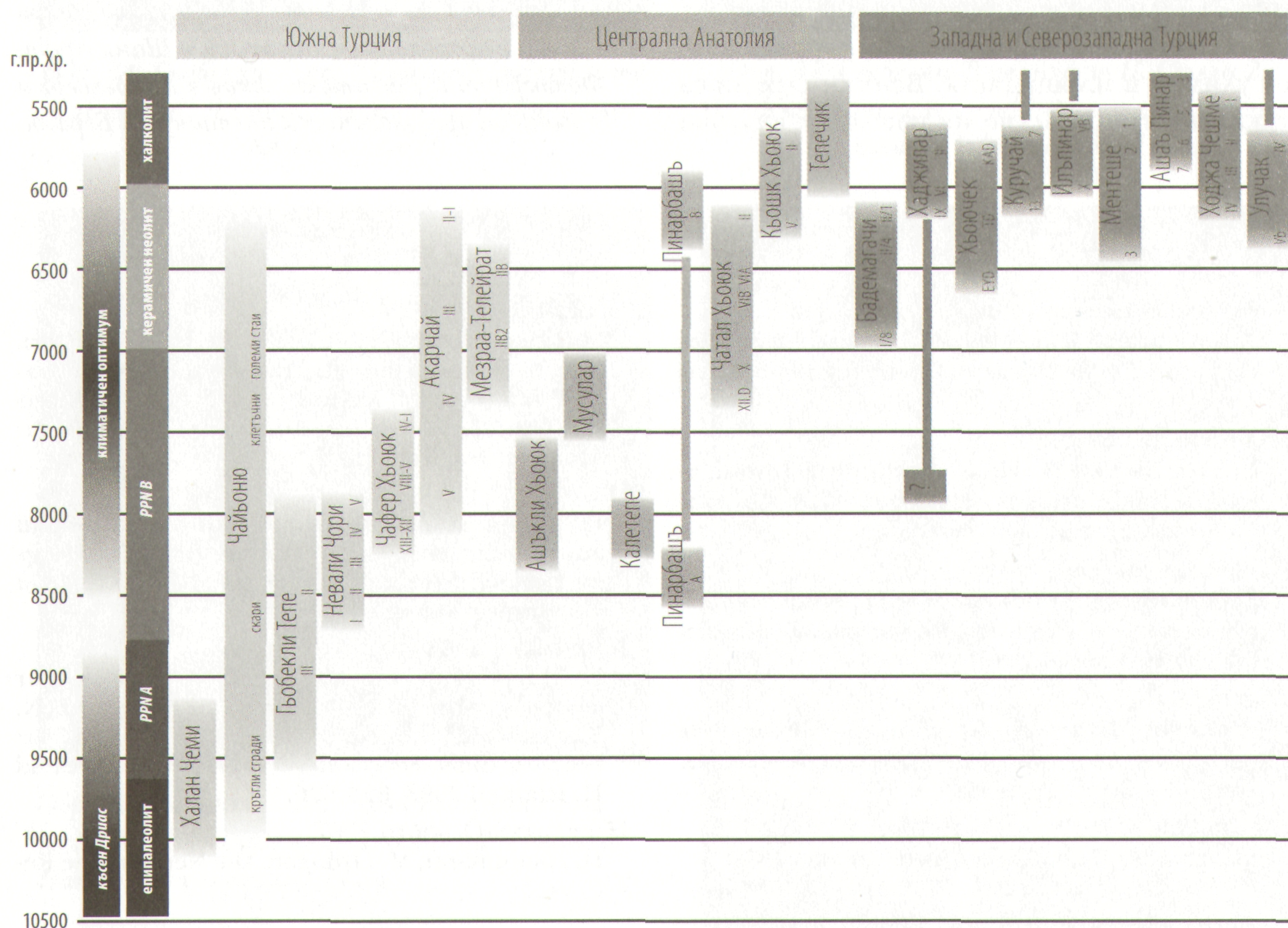
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Хронологическа таблица на най-важните неолитни обекти
в Анатолия (по Hauptmann/Özdoğan 2007, 28)

The Black Sea, the Sea of Marmara and Bronze Age Archaeology: an Archaeological Predicament

Mehmet Özdoğan

Мехмет Йоздоган

Черно море, Мраморно море и археологията на бронзовата епоха:
един археологически проблем

Корелацията на Егейско-Анатолийските култури от бронзовата епоха с тези от Балканите винаги е било спорно и все още няма консенсус по въпроса. Западноанатолийският и Егейският урбанистични модели, сравнени с модела на Сиро-Месопотамия, изглеждат дребни и провинциални, тъй като Тракия, както и голямата част от Балканите остават извън процеса на урбанизация, характерен за бронзовата епоха. Мраморно море, което е мост между културите през неолита и халколита, през бронзовата епоха е бариера между тях.

Един от основните проблеми е този за потъналите селища, вследствие на покачването нивото на Черно море. В района на Босфора има данни за такива обекти от палеолита, но няма нито един фрагмент, датиран в праисторията, за разлика от изобилието им в района на Дарданелите. Това води до извода, че между VI и I хил.пр.Хр. обстановката около Мраморно и Черно море не е била стабилна и не оговаря на онова което виждаме днес. Геоморфологическите данни показват, че между VI и VI хил.пр.Хр. е имало не само съществени промени в нивото на Черно море но и тектонични движения.

Scholars with an interest in the archaeology of the Balkans have always been impressed by the dynamic enthusiasm of Prof. Dr. Henrieta Todorova; during the last decades she has been the most simulating component of Balkan prehistory with her vigorous, but amicable stand in the chronological debates. Besides her major accomplishments, we are particularly indebted to her for persistent and meticulous work in divulging the significance of Late Chalcolithic cultures of Bulgaria. If there had not been her productive efforts, we would not be able to evaluate neither the Varna culture in the context, nor the transitional period to the Early Bronze Age.

During the last decade, substantial amount of new data has been available, both from the littoral areas of Bulgaria and from Northwestern Turkey concerning the Bronze Age cultures. However, at present there are substantial difficulties in interpreting this evidence. The present paper will try to display the discrepancies between these two regions, suggesting a rather controversial solution. In the course of last few years, we had the opportunity to discuss these issues with Dr. Todorova, without coming to a consensus. Nevertheless these discussions

have been an incitement to consider these problems; accordingly, I humbly present this paper to her.

Thrace and Northwestern Anatolia during the Bronze Age: A Prelude to the Problem

Correlation of Anatolian-Aegean Bronze Age cultures with those of the Balkans has always been a matter of dispute. In spite of the apparent differences in the cultural assemblages, in the prevailing types of settlements, as well as in architectural remains, the presence of some, seemingly similar elements between these two regions, have always tempted scholars to seek for common patterns. However, there is still no consensus, neither on correlation of the chronological sequences, nor on the presence of intensive interaction taking place between the Anatolian-Aegean and the Balkan cultural regions.

It seems evident that during the Bronze Age, in spite of the regional differences in the artifactual assemblages, Anatolia and the Aegeans have developed almost on similar lines; in both of these regions there is a rather sudden appearance of small, but fortified towns, and there are also indications of an emerging elite ruling class. Increasing implementation of wheel made

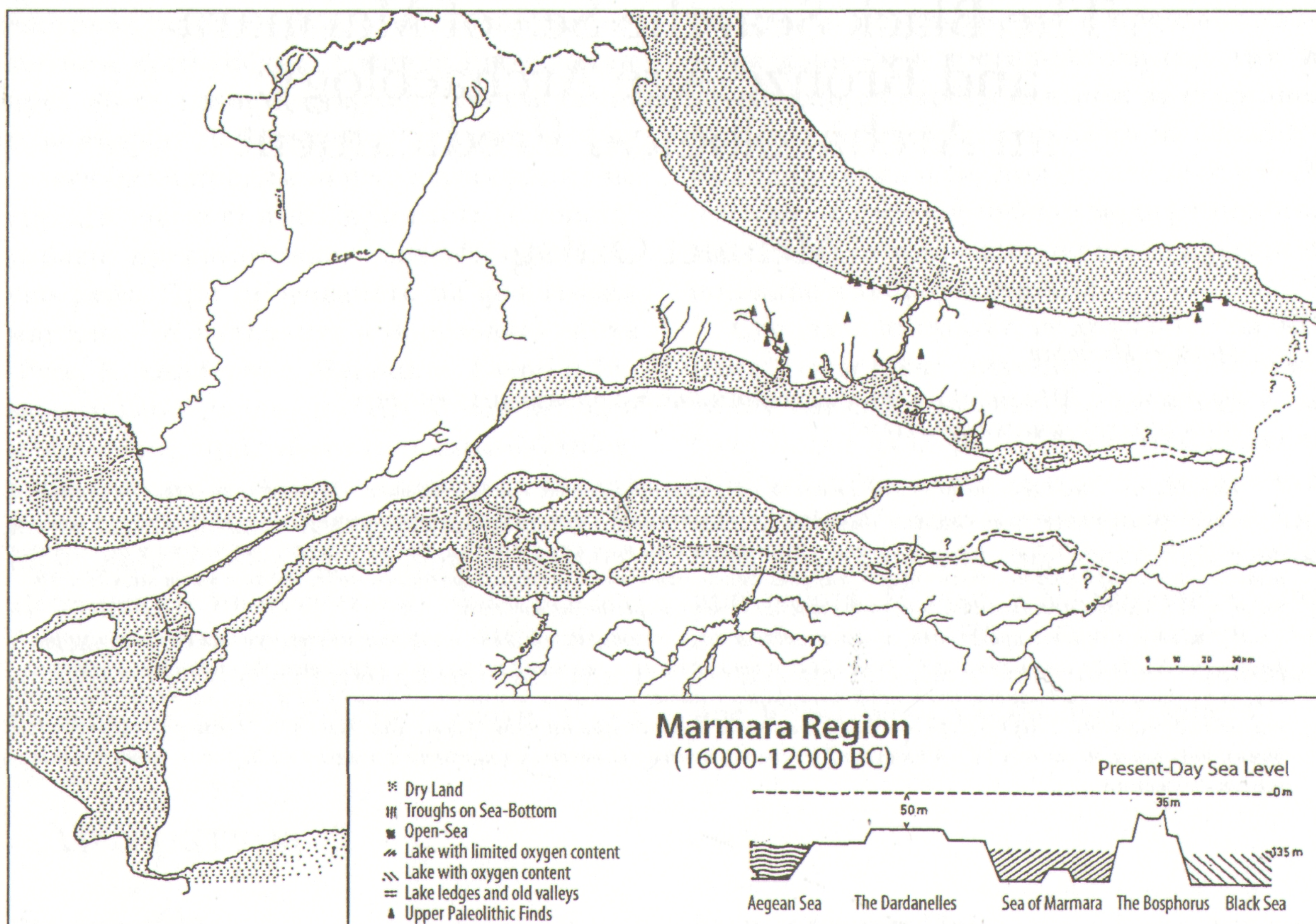


Fig. 1. Marmara region during last glacial maximum, showing lake conditions of the Sea of Marmara and Black Sea. Triangles indicate Late Paleolithic sites

pottery, the presence of status objects including sophisticated metallurgy are all indicative of a pre-state stage of urbanization in the Anatolian-Aegean region. However, it should also be noted that in the course of the Early Bronze Age, the western Anatolian and the Aegean model of "urban" centers, when compared to the contemporary cities of Syro-Mesopotamia, are extremely small and provincial. On the other hand, during the Bronze Age, Thrace, like most of the Balkans, must have remained outside of the process of urbanization. Thus the Sea of Marmara, which was a cultural bridge between Anatolia and the Balkans throughout the Neolithic and Chalcolithic Period, now, for the entire span of the Bronze Age, became a barrier delimiting these two regions.

What appears as a strict cultural discontinuity between the Balkan and Northwestern Anatolian Bronze Age cultures is hard to conceive, as the geographical features of neither the Bosphorus, nor the Sea of Marmara can hamper interaction between Thrace and Anatolia. Con-

sidering that during the Bronze Age the roots of an extensive maritime trade network was being established, it is rather strange that no such action took place through the Bosphorus. Thus, the main problem would be to justify how such a barrier could have sustained between two neighboring regions for almost two thousand years. However, before going into the controversies of interpretation, it would be worth having a brief survey of the archaeological evidence from either side of the Sea of Marmara for the sake of clearance.

The Archaeological Evidence

The Early Bronze Age cultures of Northwestern Anatolia are relatively well documented, besides excavated major Bronze Age sites like Troy, Demirci Höyük, Beşiktepe, Kumtepe and Yortan cemeteries, recent excavations at Orhangazi Hacilartepe (for short notes on the recent work at Hacilartepe, see Rodenberg 1993; 1994), Şeyitömer Höyüğü (TOPBAŞ 1993) and Early Bronze Age cemetery sites at Sariket

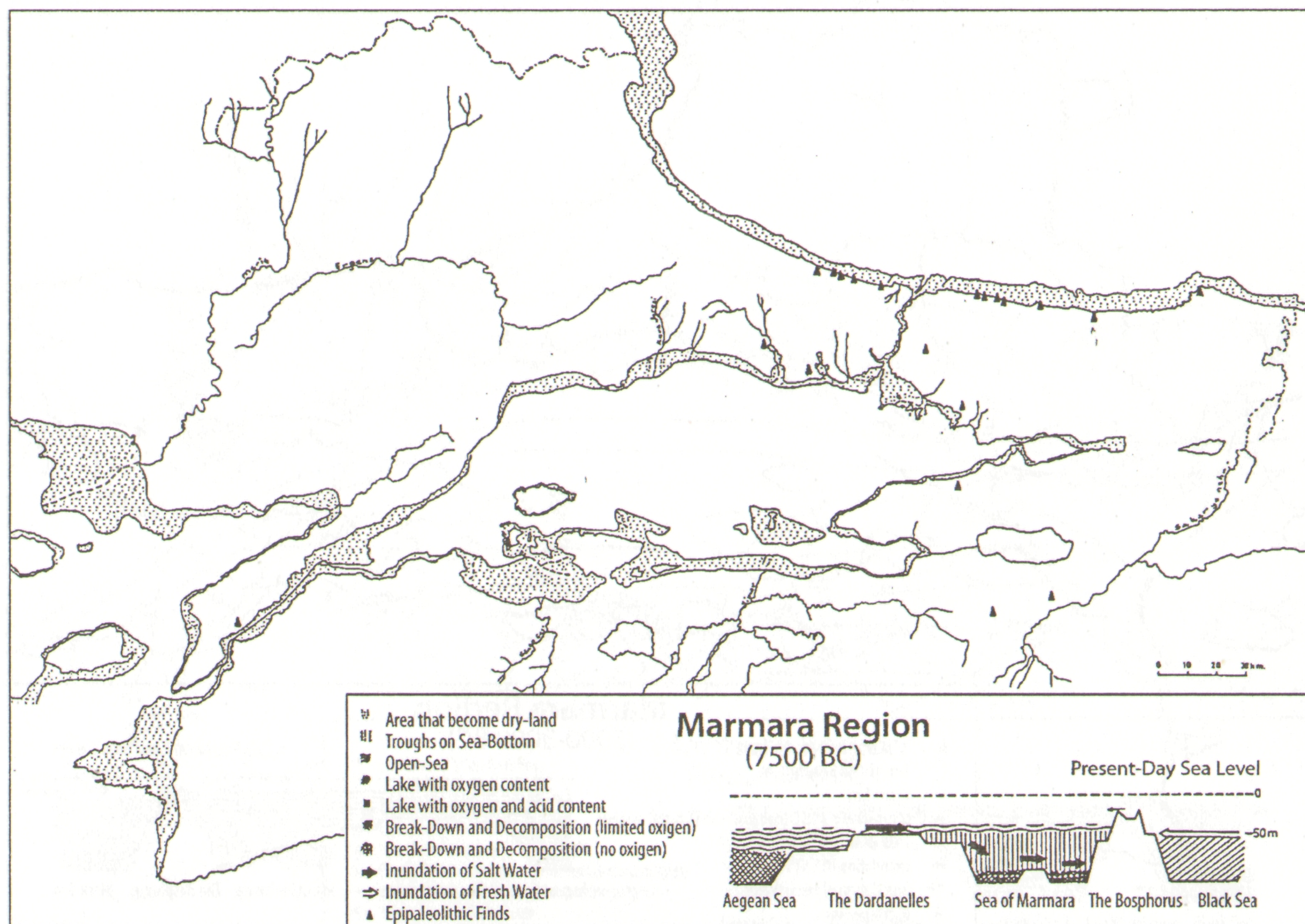


Fig. 2. Marmara region in early Holocene, after the first penetration of saline waters from the Aegean. Triangles indicate Epi-Paleolithic sites

(SEEHER 1991; 1992), Küçükhöyük (GÜRKAN/SEEHER 1991), a number of surface surveys (for survey of Eastern Marmara see ÖZDOĞAN 1983, 1984; 1985b and for the Balıkesir-Bandırma region ÖZDOĞAN 1990; for a general appraisal of the evidence see ÖZDOĞAN 1993) have increased our knowledge considerably. Concerning the distribution of sites and the boundaries of cultural assemblages, it is now possible to make the following assessments:

a) Northwestern Anatolia seems to be extensively inhabited during the Bronze Age; however, sites dateable to the first half of the Early Bronze Age are much more numerous. Even though the number of Early Bronze Age sites on the alluvial plains are more common, sites can be found on all geographic settings from intermountain valleys, to high plateaus (Fig. 5) (for a distribution of sites see KORFMANN ET AL. 1994).

b) Most of Anatolian sites are multi-layered mounds, indicating continuous occupation through the Early Bronze Age

c) Sites yielding EBA III pottery of the 2nd Millennium are much less than Early Bronze Age I and II, but wherever they occur, the sites are considerably bigger, possibly indicating a further step in centralized urbanism. It seems also possible that we could only recognize the fine wares of this period and that smaller settlements were using undiagnostic local pottery, which went unnoticed during the survey.

However, on the Thracian side of the Sea of Marmara, our evidence is still rather scanty and difficult to interpret (ÖZDOĞAN 1991). In the eastern Thrace, the only excavated and fully published Bronze Age site is still Karaağaçtepe-Protesilaos (DEMANGEL 1926). Our survey in Eastern Thrace has revealed a number of Early Bronze Age sites, but can be inferred through this survey is rather controversial: the Gelobolu Peninsula by the Dardanelles (ÖZDOĞAN 1986a) and the littoral areas along the Aegean have revealed mound sites yielding Anatolian type of pottery; at least there, on the surface we could not identify any "un-Anatolian" sherd. The

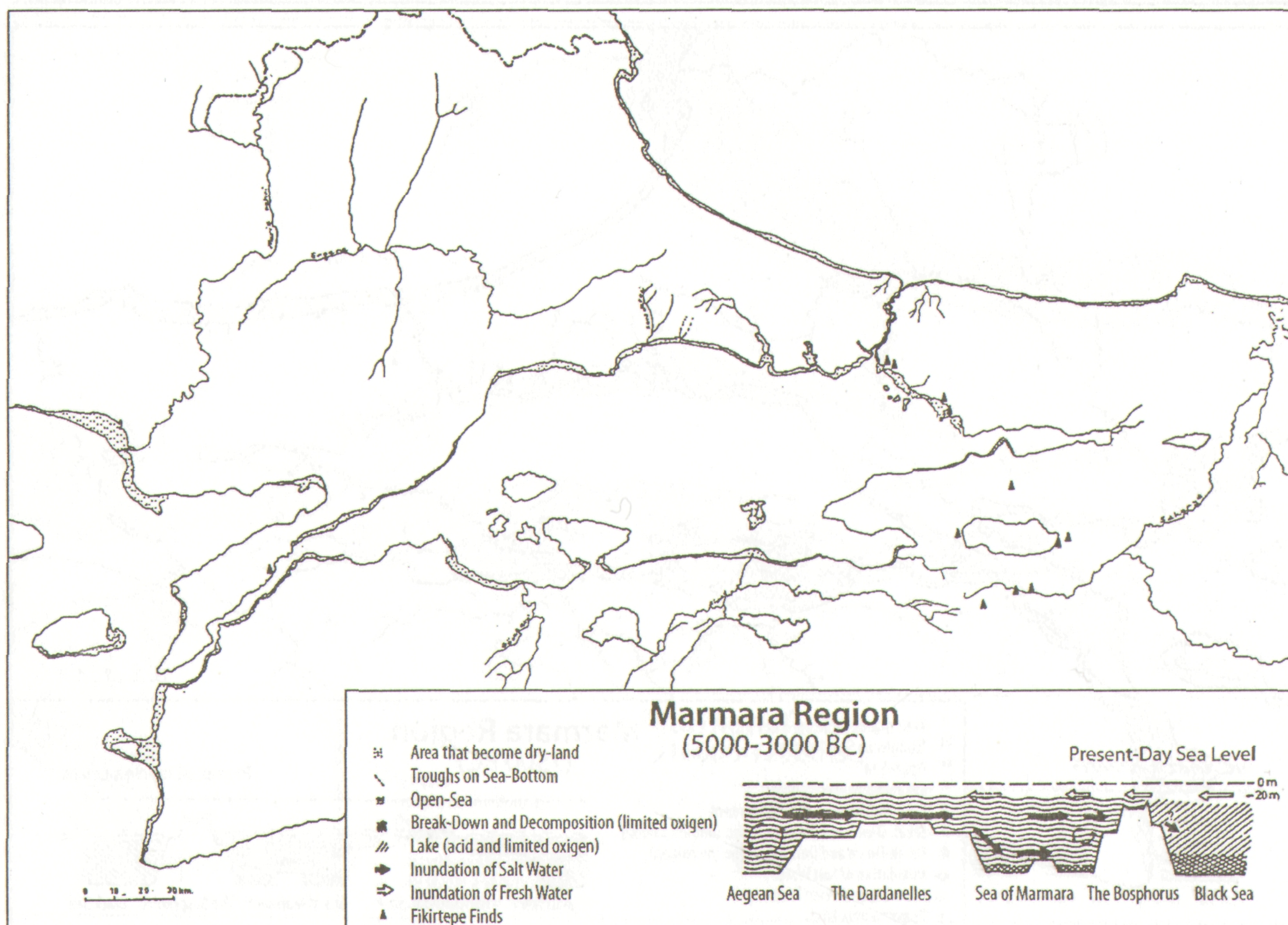


Fig. 3. Marmara region during the Neolithic Period. Triangles indicate sites of Fikirtepe culture

Northern coastline of the Sea of Marmara also seems to be densely occupied during the early part of the Early Bronze Age, between Istanbul and Kizilcaterzi we have identified 12 Early Bronze Age sites, four of them being sizable mounds. After evaluating the surface collection of Bronze Age sherds, some facts seemed evident:

- The surface yield of these sites was very uniform, suggesting that they are all contemporary, and that they represented only a single cultural episode.
- The material of these coastal sites clear affinities to the pottery assemblage of Troy I.
- We have not recovered any similar assemblage from the Bronze Age sites that are further away from the coastal areas.
- There were very few, if any, sherds that would definitely be related to the Ezero assemblage.
- All along the coastal strip of Thrace, we could recover only one site, Karaevlialtı, that could possibly be dated to the 2nd Mil-

lennium BC.

f) The next clear evidence of settlements along the coastal area is from the Middle Iron Age, that is with the Greek colonization. Needless to say, it seems rather strange that all of the coastal zone became deserted, or being very thiny throughout the 2nd Millennium.

However, our recent work at Menekşe Çatağı have indicated that the situation was not as simple as we could interpret from the surface evidence. At least it is now evident that the architectural remains of the Bronze Age layers are typically “un-Anatolian”, revealing apsidal post-hole buildings, and that there are also significant amount of local wares in the assemblage.

In the inner parts of Thrace, the number of Early Bronze Age sites that we could recover are minimal, all of them being flat without any indication of multi-layered mound formation. The surface evidence of these sites is also strikingly different from those along the Marmara coast, Ezero type of sherds being overwhelmingly predominant. Moreover, our evidence for

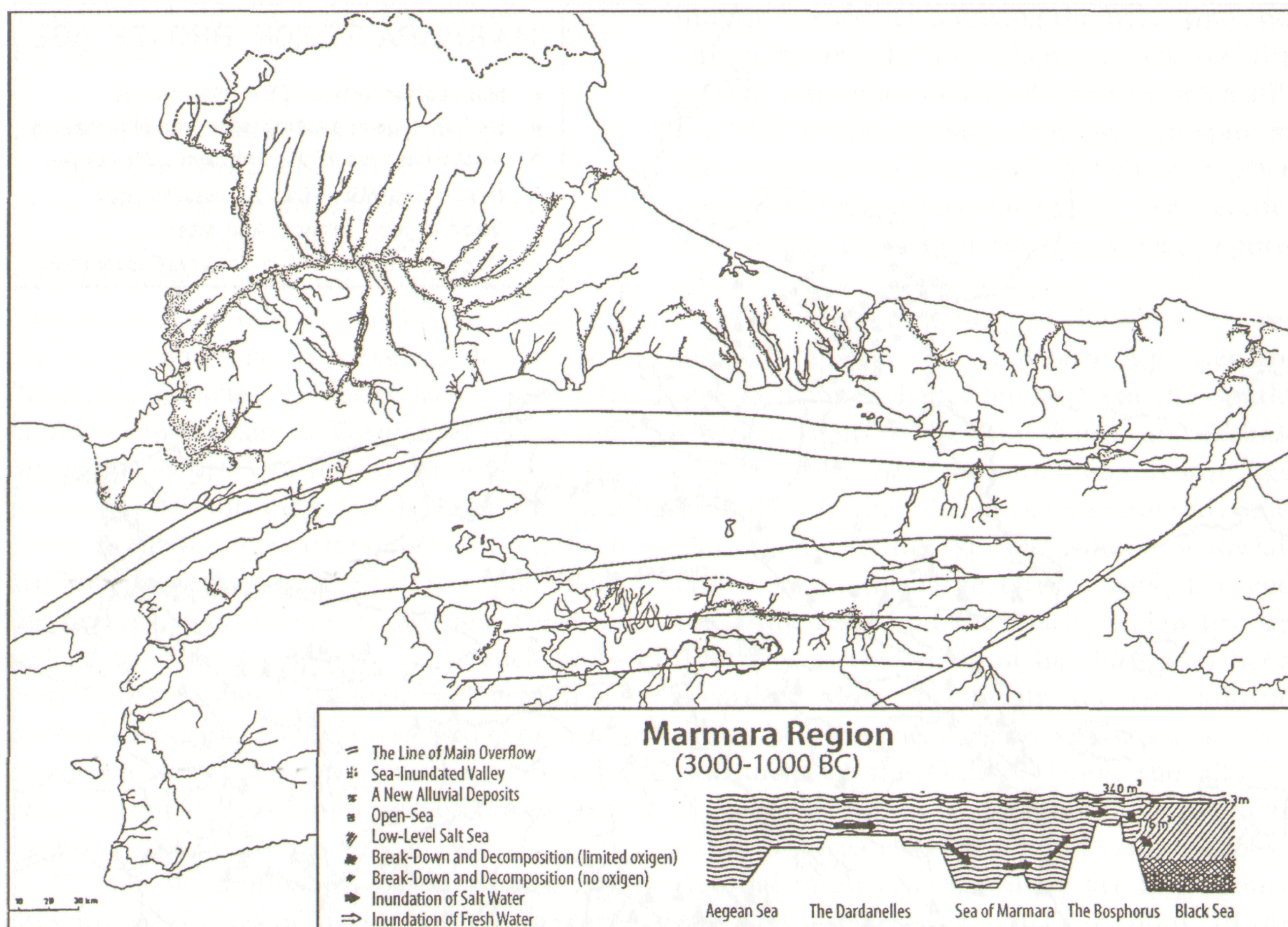


Fig. 4. Marmara region, major fault lines and recent alluvial deposits

the Middle and Late Bronze Age from the inner regions, is even more obscure; there are only a very limited number of cases where we could claim to have recovered clear 2nd Millennium material.

However still, our recent work at Kanlıgeçit is strongly suggestive of an Anatolian colonization penetrating into Eastern Thrace by the end of the 3rd Millennium BC, but whether or not this is an exceptional case, or indicative of a pattern which has not yet become apparent, is not clear. Accordingly, until there is more evidence available, our present level of archaeological record is not enough to make, even preliminary assessments concerning the Bronze Age of Eastern Thrace.

Evidently, the status of Bronze Age investigations in Bulgaria is on more firm bases; intensive work at stratified large sites such as Ezero, Karanovo, Yunatsite, Dyadovo and Galabovo have clearly established the bases for working out the artifactual sequence. A large number of minor excavations as well as surface surveys have also

contributed to our understanding of the Thracian Bronze Age. As apparent from some recently published important papers (LESHTAKOV 1993a; PANAJOTOV 1989; 1995; NEMEJCVA 1992), presenting an overview of the Bulgarian evidence for the Bronze Age, the following general statements can be made:

a) Unlike Eastern Thrace, there seems to be some, major Bronze Age centers, such as Ezero, Dyadovo, Yunatsite etc., indicating a continuous series of occupation in Southern Bulgaria.

b) however, besides these few mound sites, all other Bronze Age sites are small flat sites, more like temporary camp sites than continuous villages.

c) All of the Bulgarian Bronze Age sites, including mounds, have no indication of the presence of a complex society. They all lack the monumental architectural remains as well as the sophisticated artifactual assemblages. Stone architecture, the use of massive defence walls etc. are all absent from Thracian Bronze Age sites. The potter's wheel, an indicator of urbani-

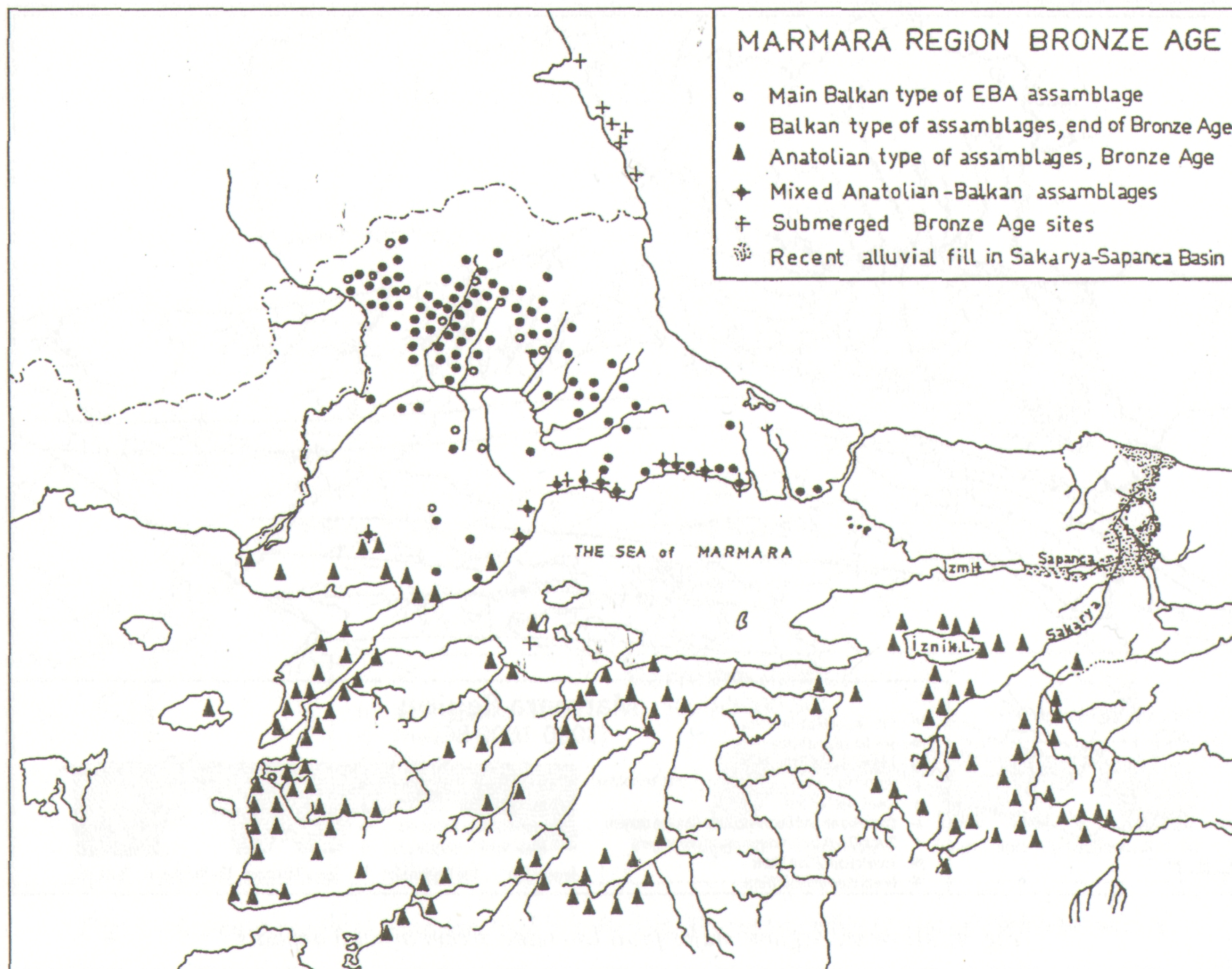


Fig. 5. Distribution of Bronze Age sites in Northwestern Turkey

zation, that began to be in use on the Anatolian side of the sea of Marmara by the middle of the Early Bronze Age practically appears in Thrace only during the Iron Age.

d) All the Bulgarian Bronze Age, including Thrace, what can be safely considered as imports from Anatolia or from the Aegean, are restricted to a few depas and to 5 vessels from Galabovo (PANAJOTOV/LESHTAKOV 1991, figs. 18-20). Thus, it seems evident that not only the settlement pattern in Thrace was different from Anatolia, but the interaction between these two regions were at minimal level.

e) There is a considerable degree of difference between the Northern and Southern Bulgarian Bronze Age cultures. By the end of the Early Bronze Age, Southeast and Southwest Bulgaria also seems to be parts of distinct cultural groups. In the course of the Early Bronze Age Southeastern Bulgaria seems to be an area marginal to the happenings in the Aegean and

in Northeastern Turkey.

f) The traditional tripartite division of Bronze Age into Early, Middle and Late phases, perfectly applicable to Anatolia and to the Aegean, seems meaningless in Thrace.

g) Like in Eastern Thrace, in Southeast Bulgaria the evidence for most of the 2nd Millennium B.C. is also extremely inadequate; possibly indicating a total collapse of the social system.

h) Like in Eastern Thrace, intensive repopulation of the area will take place only by the end of the 2nd Millennium, by what seems as an intrusive group.

i) Like in Eastern Thrace and Northwestern Anatolia, the coastal areas of the Black Sea are void of intensive Bronze Age habitation. However, the recently discovered submerged Bronze Age sites in Bulgaria (DRAGANOV 1995; PANAJOTOV 1991; BOER 1994) are strongly suggestive that the Bronze Age coastline of the Black Sea was considerably different from that of the

present, and that all coastal settlements were submerged.

A Major Problem: Submerged Bronze Age Sites in Black Sea

As briefly summarized above, there are a number of discrepancies between Thrace and Northwestern Anatolia, two neighboring regions located on either side of a small land locked sea the Sea of Marmara. It is evident that some of these discrepancies are due to lack of research, mainly as in the case of Eastern Thrace. Some inconsistency between territories, may find explanations on cultural grounds, even though it is yet too early to formulate one. However, there are some facts that are difficult to explain with the present stand of our knowledge. Here we will try to draw attention to two of such problems; being neither a geologist nor a geomorphologist by profession, what we will connote as a solution, should be considered as a provocation to stimulate further interest on these issues by those who are experts.

1) The distribution of coastal Bronze Age sites around the Sea of Marmara is very strange (see Fig. 5). All through the Northern coast of Marmara, from the Westernmost tip of the Gelibolu peninsula, up to Istanbul, on every location suitable for habitation, there is an Early Bronze Age settlement. The same pattern can be seen on the Anatolian side of the Sea of Marmara, from Çanakkale up to Kapıdağ peninsula. This is evidently a pattern that is strongly indicative of intensive utilization of maritime resources. However, to the east of the Kapıdağ peninsula, in the entire extend of Southeastern Marmara, not a single Bronze Age site has been recorded. It may be argued that this is a result of survey bias; however, in the parts of this coastal strip where our surface cover was rather intensive. We specifically searched locations that would in other parts of Marmara, would definitely have yielded a Bronze Age site, but recovered nothing.

b) Not a single Bronze Age sherd have been recovered on the Bosphorus. Considering the presence of numerous Bronze Age sites along the Dardanelles, this is very strange. Here, it may also be argued that Istanbul being a vast metropolis for over a millennium, might have destroyed all prehistoric sites. However, most of the areas around the Bosphorus were void of

intensive settlements during the Byzantine and Ottoman periods, and when we surveyed the region, a number of Paleolithic sites were still available on the surface. Moreover, in spite of the intensive building activity that took place around the Bosphorus during the last decade, not a single prehistoric sherd has been reported.

c) In the Eastern part of the Marmara region, the distribution of Bronze Age sites are also rather peculiar. Coming from the South, all the way up to the Iznik basin, and including this area, there are numerous Bronze Age sites, most of them being sizeable mounds, and all of them yielding typical Anatolian material. However, on the large terrain lying between the Iznik Lake and the Black Sea no Bronze Age sites, neither small or big, have ever been recorded. More specifically, the rich alluvial plains like the basin of the Sapanca Lake, the catchment of the Gulf of Izmit, the alluvial plain of Adapazari, the terraces along the delta of the Sakarya river etc. are all void of Bronze Age habitation. Neither there are any Bronze Age sites known from east of Istanbul, all the way up to Sakarya.

Accordingly the present evidence implies that the lake of Iznik constitutes the Northern limit of Anatolian Bronze Age cultures, and then there is an enormous territory void of any habitation. Considering the presence of several large Bronze Age mounds around the Iznik lake, the lack of sites around Sapanca lake, exactly a similar setting and located only 50 km to the North is very difficult to conceive.

d) On the Anatolian side, just to the north of Kapıdağ peninsula which constitutes the eastern limit of coastal Bronze Age sites, a submerged mound has been recorded by the small island of Avşa. This site, named as the Manastir Mevkii, is a considerable mound, revealing a complete range of cultural horizons between Kumtepe Ib and Troy VII b2. The site is partially visible on the shore of the island, but extends under the sea up to the depth of 10 m, where a Bronze Age cemetery has also been recovered.

Considering the range of sea level changes during the late Holocene, it seems evident that the presence of this submerged site is related to local tectonics and not to eustatic events.

e) The presence of submerged Bronze Age

sites along the Bulgarian coast of the Black Sea presents the most difficult problem to explain. The number of recorded submerged sites are now over 10, and their number seems to be increasing almost every year. Geographically they are dispersed through the entire extent of Bulgarian territory, from Varna to Sozopol. Most of the sites are located between 6 to 8 meters below the present level of the Black Sea; however, there are also some claims of sites at lower depth, most of the sites cluster between 5 to 8 meters. As no site could have existed exactly on by the shore, and as most sites are located on small promontories, with some justification the Bronze Age level of the Black Sea can be placed at least to minus 10 meters.

The problem is to find an acceptable explanation to how all of these coastal sites could have been submerged. Almost unanimously, reports concerning these sites excludes the possibility of tectonic or epirogenic movements and relate this event to a regression phase of the Black Sea. However, in the publications of these submerged sites, we never came through an attempt in trying to correlate this regression of the Black Sea with the globular sea level fluctuation curves. To the best of our knowledge, there is no consensus on the sea level fluctuations during the late Holocene, however, the maximum estimates never exceed plus or minus 3 meters (MASTERS/FLEMMING 1983; KAYAN 1988) from the present levels. Thus it remains to be explained how a regression of the Black Sea of over a range of 10 meters could have happened, at a time when there is no record of such a significant change in worldwide sea levels.

Accordingly, if the Black Sea was connected to the worldwide sea systems, that is if the Bosphorus was existing, then all over the oceans, one has to consider that the sea level was 10 meters below its present level during the Bronze Age; as this seems impossible, than the next possible solution would be to consider Black Sea as being isolated from the Marmara during the 3rd and 2nd Millennium B.C. One other possible solution, tectonic movements, seems anyhow to be rejected by all.

A Controversial Solution:

An Alternative Bosphorus

Any major change in the levels, either of the

oceans, or of the other seas, is the consequence of major climatic fluctuations. Accordingly, such changes occur at times of global warming or cooling, and having an impact in all littoral areas of the world. The last major marine regression taking place at the time of the last maximum phase of the Würm glaciation, is dated to about 16 000 BC, when the level of the sea was 100-120 m lower than of present. Even though there is some dispute on the exact dates and on the speed of the transgression that followed Würm maximum, there is a general consensus that velocity of the rise in sea levels was rather rapid until 5.000 BC, and from that time on, there were only some minor fluctuations.

Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara are two interconnected inner seas, linked to the worldwide ocean system by only narrow, long and relatively shallow straits. Accordingly, even minor climatic fluctuations, or changes in the worldwide sea levels, provokes exaggerated consequences in the closed basins of Marmara and Black Sea. Furthermore, at certain occasions this system becomes further complicated by being connected to the Caspian Sea

The water exchange between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara is a unique case, as the density of their water masses is significantly different from each other. Large rivers, such as Danube, Dniyep and Don drain almost all of the surface water of Central and Eastern Europe into the Black Sea; thus it receives large masses of fresh and cold water. On the other hand, the Sea of Marmara receive highly saline warm waters from the Aegean through the Dardanelles. Accordingly the brackish waters of Black Sea is much lighter than that of Marmara, and at present the Black Sea has an excess input of water which almost completely fills up the Bosphorus. Actually as the water discharge of the Black Sea is little more than the carrying capacity of this narrow and shallow strait, the present level of the Black Sea being considerably higher than that of Marmara.

This complicated system has some rather complex consequences: under certain of water masses according to their density and thus preventing vertical circulation of oxygen. At present the Black sea is under such conditions; the density stratification of its waters prevent dissolved oxygen to reach lower elevations result-

ing in anoxic conditions and to the formation of sapropels (see diagrams in ÖZDOĞAN 1985a, fig. 5.c; STANLEY/BLANPIED 1980, fig. 2), analysis of the deep sea cores indicate that Marmara had lived similar conditions during the last glacial period (STANLEY/BLANPIED 1980).

Accordingly, even a minute change in the system, either eustatic change of global sea levels, or due to water input of the Black Sea from river drainage has considerable effects on:

a) Whether or not saline waters can pass through the Bosphorus

b) Marine ecology of Marmara and Black Sea are very unstable and are apt to go through radical changes.

How this system reacted to the radical changes that took place in the globular sea levels during the last glacial period, is far too complicated to be dealt within the scope of this paper. A simplistic overview of this system have already been published elsewhere (ÖZDOĞAN 1985a; MERİÇ ET AL. 1990, 107-111) and, here, for reminiscence, four synoptic charts (Figs. 1-4) have been appended on this issue.

It is clear that somewhere around 7 000 B.C. the Sea of Marmara was already receiving both saline waters from the Aegean and fresh waters from the Black Sea. When we had formulated the above mentioned model, we had taken as granted that the contact between Black Sea and Marmara was through Bosphorus (figs. 2, 3). However, even then, it was clearly evident from the bottom sediments of both Marmara and Black Sea that the present conditions were established only by the first Millennium BC (ÖZDOĞAN 1985a, 155). Since then, there has been considerable amount of new data available (MERİÇ ET AL. 1990; DEUER 1972; KAPLIN ET AL. 1993) all of which clearly indicate that between the sixth and first Millennium BC, the environmental conditions of Marmara and Black Sea were not stable, and there were alternating short facies or episodes and that the present level of salinity was firmly established only by the first Millennium BC.

Besides these unstable marine conditions, archaeological evidence as well as the geomorphological studies imply that there were significant changes in the level of the Black Sea between the 6th and 1st Millennium BC (ORACHEV 1990). Archaeological evidence from Bulgaria and Romania strongly suggests that the Black Sea was recession from the beginning of the 4th Millennium up to, at least beginning of the 2nd.

It all concludes that the water discharge between the Black Sea and the Marmara, which was already established during the 6th Millennium, must have been interrupted at an uncertain point during the 4th Millennium. Sometime by the beginning of the 1st Millennium BC, a new connection must have taken place. We are conscious of the fact that this assumption will be considered as being far fetched by geomorphologists; however, than, a more convincing explanation should be presented to explain the archaeological evidence of submerged Bronze Age sites in the Black Sea.

Paleological evidence shows that, at least during the early Holocene, prior to the formation of the Sakarya Delta, the discharge of the Black Sea was through this depression. We might surmise that during the 4th Millennium, at a time when there was less input of water into the Black Sea basin, extensive silting as well as rapid built up of the Sakarya delta, possibly blocked this channel, in the same manner as the Manych channel between the Caspian and Black Sea was silted. What happened later is rather speculative, but a tectonic movement by the beginning of the 1st Millennium could have resulted in over flooding of the Marmara through the present valley of the Bosphorus into the Black Sea.

As we had mentioned above, we are conscious of the fact that we have gone far beyond our field of specialization; however, we can still hope that this paper will provoke natural scientists in helping to solve this archaeological problem.

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Tombs of Thracian Kings in the Region of Kazanluk

Georgi Kitov

Георги Китов

Гробници на Тракийски царе в Казанлъшко

Сензационното откриване на Казанлъшката гробница остава за дълъг период единствената находка, маркираща наличието на тракийска школа в античното изкуство. 20 години след това в същия район се откриха още две гробници и започнаха интензивни проучвания на тракийските могили в района. В тях бяха открити множество накити и апликации, предмети на въоръжението, местни и вносни съдове и редица други археологически материали. За повечето от могилите се предполага, че са съдържали царски погребения, поради което районът около Казанлък бе наречен "Долина на Тракийските царе".

On April 19, 1944, an interesting archaeological discovery was made in the region of Kazanluk, under the embankment of a Thracian mound – the Kazanluk tomb, as it is well-known in science today, with its multicolored drawings. The sensational discovery of the Kazanluk tomb¹ remained isolated for more than 20 years. It became the reason for writing and arguing about the existence of a Thracian school in the antique art of painting (DIMITROV 1966).

The tomb consists of a corridor and a circular beehive chamber. The walls are covered with a multicolored stuccatura, most of which represents different scenes. The ones in the corridor illustrate the military exploits of the buried Thracian ruler. The chamber is covered with numerous plant, geometric, and animal ornaments. The basic part of the image field is also occupied by scenes. A contest with galloping chariots is depicted in the uppermost frieze. Another scene is drawn under the frieze, most probably of a funeral feast in honor of a deceased and deified Thracian ruler. He is seated on a throne, with a wreath on his head, and is stretching his hand in farewell to his distressed wife. Around them, servants and relatives carry funeral gifts, while a young chariot-driver holds the reins of the horses, which would be offered

as a ritual sacrifice. The colors are harmonic, the contours of the images are precise and sure, most of the participants in the scenes possess individualized traits. The Kazanluk tomb still remains one of the masterpieces of the Thracian tomb architecture and art of painting (OGNEVA-MARINOVA 1991, 12 ff).

Two tombs, which were not so well preserved and were less impressive, were found a little more than twenty years later, in the same region. The one at Muglizh has a long corridor, brick chambers, but is devastated to a large extent, still preserving mural fragments, which are in a process of restoration². The tomb at Krun is less preserved; its walls had been covered with multicolored parget, the precise outlines of which could only be supposed (GETOV 1991, 42)³.

As soon as thirty years later intensive research began in the region of Shipka, Kazanluk region (KITOV 1995a). During the very first days of the excavations, a peculiar tomb was found. Its walls were built up of raw stones and its interior was filled with soil and small stones. It turned out that it was not looted. Moreover, it can be concluded that it has belonged to a ruler because of two bone scepters, which are in the shape of a double-axe, and a massive golden ring with an engraved scene of an investitura.

¹ The first serious investigation is carried out by V. Mikov (MIKOV 1954). The subsequent literature on the Kazanluk tomb is tremendous, both in terms of specialized research, and in terms of review works on the antique art. The more important ones are given by OGNEVA-MARINOVA (1991, 22 ff).

² The tomb is discovered in 1965 (TZANOVA AND GETOV 1973, 15 ff.).

³ The tomb is discovered in the same 1965. It is located closer to Shipka than to Krun. Now it is buried under an embankment, which has naturally slid down. Near the mound, in which it is discovered, a larger mound embankment is situated. In its southwestern sector a drilling was made in 1992. The embankment is filled up with beehive-like ritual pits.



*Fig. 1. Part of the tumular necropolis Shipka-Sheynovo.
In the background the munition factory Arsenal (left), Golyama Kosmatka mound (right).
Photo: Georgi Kitov.*



*Fig. 2. A bronze situla with representation of a
bearded silenus. The Small mound, 4th century BC.
Photo: Zheljan Nikolov*

The rest of the funeral gifts from the stock are incredibly ornate and diverse as well. A superb golden necklace stands out among them. Its chain consists of thousands of miniature, inner-soldered rings. The clasps are artistically made of thin soldered golden fibers. A pendant in the shape of a miniature amphora is a masterpiece of the art of jewelry. Its body is covered with thin golden fibers and a multitude of microscopic golden balls, which are arranged in stripes or heaped in clusters. Another similar pendant is not so precisely carried out. The places of joints between the separate elements of the necklace are discovered through small oval plates, over which a small female face is portrayed – probably belonging to the gorgone Medusa. Another golden necklace consists of richly ornamented beads, covered with a multitude of rosettes, which are a result of the bending and welding of golden wires. Its richly ornamented bi-coni-

cal pendant is not less elegantly made. Ten more golden objects, a multitude of silver ornaments, two silver phialae, two bronze vessels, one of which displaying precisely made plastic images of a bearded male face and a three-dimensional lion's head, a lot of clay vessels, some of which imported from ancient Greece, and lots of other, more insignificant objects illustrate the high aesthetic needs of the Thracian aristocracy during IV century BC (KITOV 1994a, 5 ff.; KITOV/THEODOSSIEV 1995, 317 ff., bibl.).

On April 13, 1973 near the town of Shipka, one of the biggest Thracian mounds revealed another sensational archeological discovery. It turned out that the largest and most imposing Thracian tomb, known so far in general in the Thracian world, was located in the southern periphery of the embankment. It astounds with numerous idiosyncrasies, each of which is new to science (KITOV 1994b, 13 ff.; KITOV 1995, 245 ff.)

The device constitutes an enormous funeral and cult complex, which consists of six premises, five of which are rectangular and one is circular. With its area of 100 m² it is at least two times bigger than that of any of the known so far Thracian tombs. The central funeral chamber is impressing and is carved out of a huge monolithic block⁴. The ceiling is covered with a multitude of miniature fields, which are filled out with magnificent colorful images.

The formation of the complex has started in the middle of IV century BC, when the monolithic block at hand had been carved and mounted. A three-stair rectangular platform (stereobate) was built up for its fixing and attachment. An enormous chamber was placed in the middle of the platform, after it had been poured on with lead. Its size – 3,5 m × 2,5 m × 2,5 m, prove that its total weight is greater than 60 tons. An entrance, a threshold, a free space, and a large rectangular funeral bed with stone

legs, that are imitating lion's paws, are carved in the block. Aediculas have been modelled at the two ends of the bed, but they are pretty "vague". Obviously, the bed had been covered with a carpet or some other expensive fabric. The chamber is covered with a 5-wall block. Its eastern and western front parts are formed from the outside like frontons. A band of a jagged ornament – alternating concave and convex rectangles, imitating trimmer joists, pass under the frontons along the whole length of the block. Analogical "beams" divide the ceiling from the inside into 42 squares with murals⁵. The composition is perfect and is arranged around a big central circle, which symbolizes the sun. It had been thoroughly and thickly gilded. The eight triangles around it resemble sunrays. The rest of the area of the ceiling is divided into two levels, each of which consists of square image fields. Their size in the upper level is 14 cm × 14 cm. The corner fields are filled with 16-leaf rosettes of alternating oak and laurel leaves, every other of which colored in red and green. The rest of the fields have portrait images of male and female heads. The male ones carry wreaths on their heads, which legitimizes them as rulers. From the female ones, the most-preserved face is that of a young woman in 3/4 profile, with a sweet expression, auburn hair, with earrings on her ears and a necklace on her neck. An incrustation of thick golden plates, which have been wrenched, had additionally emphasized the ornaments. The female image is expressive, realistic, and of a high artistic value, as is the case with the rest of the frescoes.

The lower outer level consists of larger squares – 18 cm × 18 cm. They had been filled with scenes from the Thracian mythology and perhaps with the life of the buried Thracian king. On the better preserved scenes, one can see a seated warrior with a big golden shield in his hand; two talking human figures, which re-

⁴ A similar case in Thrace is not known. Besides, the chamber is situated perpendicularly to the entrance, and the frontons are not over it, but toward the lateral walls, which contradicts the principles of antique architecture. Remote parallels to the sarcophagus-like chamber in the Ostrusha mound, can be seen in the tomb of Kir Stari in Persia (LUKONIN 1977, 61 ff.) -- the tomb, however, is built in and its entrance is on the narrow side, and in a tomb from Iznik, Nikea in Turkey (VULEVA 1994, 60 AND LIT.).

Here, I will not have the opportunity to present my arguments about the lack of direct connections between the building traditions, which gave birth to the mentioned tombs, and the traditions, which resulted in the Shipka tomb-mausoleum.

⁵ The earliest cassette ceilings in Thrace date back to the Roman epoch. They are presented with numerous monuments in the Greek and Etruscan worlds (KITOV 1994b, 18 ff.).

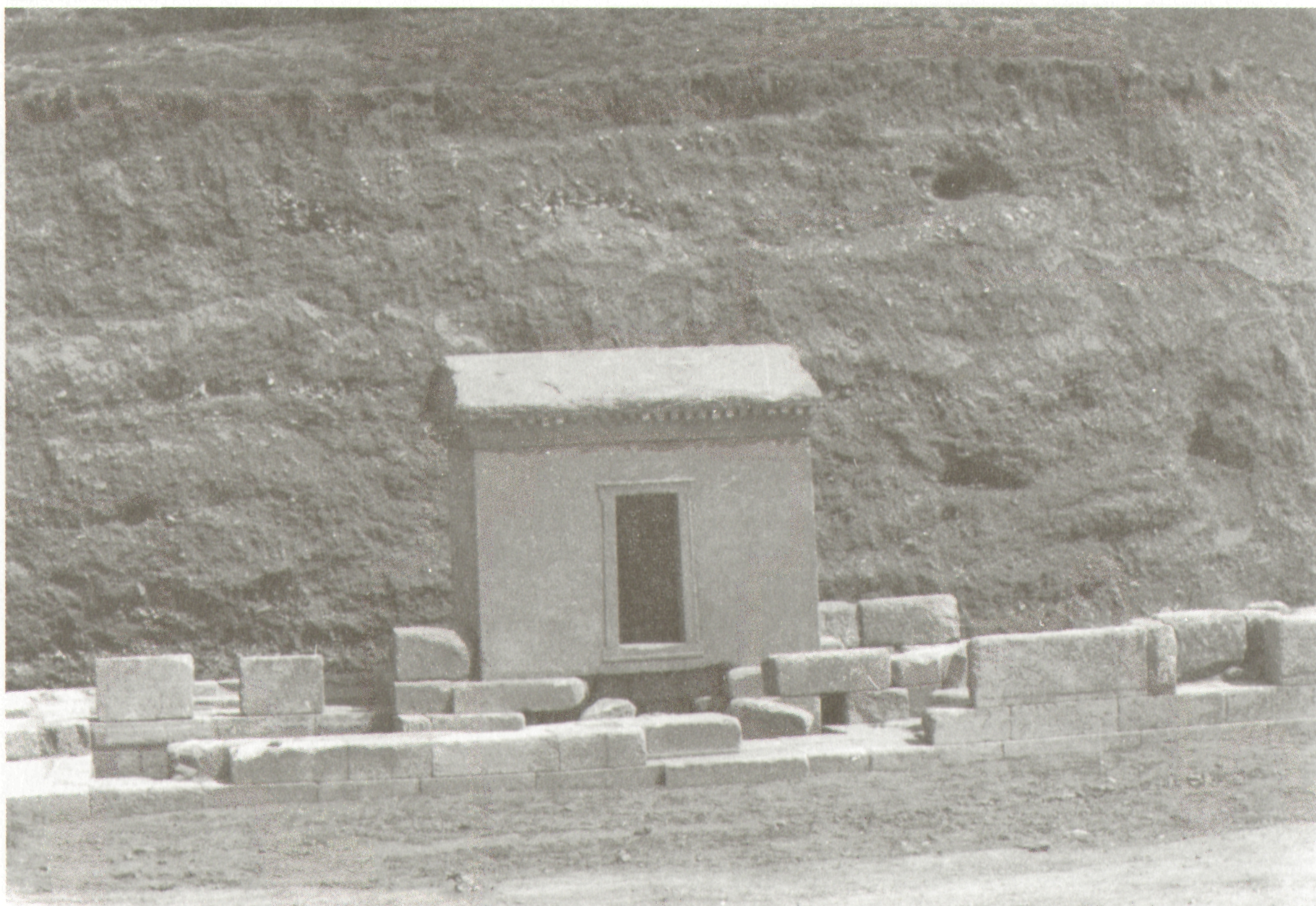


Fig. 3. The Shipka tomb-mausoleum in the Ostrusha mound. 4th century BC. Photo: Georgi Kitov

Fig. 4. The tomb in the Sashova mound – not plundered the central chamber. Photo: Georgi Dimov



semble a scene from the golden treasure from Panagyurishte (MARAZOV 1978, p.104 ff. and lit.)⁶. One of the figures rests on a club and resembles Heracles. There are also scenes of animal fights, that are typical for the traditional Thracian art (VENEDIKOV/GERASSIMOV 1973, 119)⁷. Some fields are filled with plant ornaments. All "beams" are covered with a rich geometric and plant decoration. The frescoes are painted in red, blue, yellow, and green, which is rarely found in such murals. Besides, strokes had been used, as well as nuances, among the separate colors. In its original appearance, the ceiling of the central chamber in the Shipka tomb had possessed higher artistic value than the frescoes of the Kazanluk tomb⁸, mostly because of the fact that the images are on fields, several times smaller, and contain much more details on a significantly smaller area. Besides, the Shipka murals are at least half a century older than the ones at Kazanluk and confirm the hypothesis about the existence of a Thracian artistic school in the Hellenistic and antique art of painting (DIMITROV 1966). Some of the portraits and scenes could be regarded as masterpieces of the art of painting, and reveal the high artistic and technical demands and capabilities of the Thracian society as early as the middle of IV century BC.

The central monolithic chamber of the Shipka tomb had existed separately for some time, maybe for about a decade. The other five premises were attached to it subsequently, and thus it acquired its final appearance of a mausoleum⁸ of a Thracian king, who was deified meanwhile. Undoubtedly, his image is drawn on the ceiling, as well as the images of the members

of his family – ancestors or future rulers, who should have been buried in the same place.

Two of the additional rectangular premises flank the central monolithic chamber and are constructively closed. There the funerals of members of the dynastic family had been probably carried out. The premises had been immediately blocked up, which did not hinder their subsequent pillage. An antechamber is built up in front of the central chamber with two premises on its two sides, which are connected with it through entrances. The walls of the antechamber, its entrance from the south, and the entrances to its lateral chambers, had been decorated with plastic ornamentation, from which too little has been preserved. The thresholds had been covered with organic matter, which has left pale brown imprints.

The southeastern premises is circular and some arch-like incisions are distinguished in the preserved 3-4 rows, which point out to its beehive shape⁹. The premises had been pillaged. The bones found here, show that at least two horses were buried here.

Fortunately the southwestern premises, which is almost square, turned out unplundered¹⁰. A horse skeleton, with its legs to the south and its skull to the east, was cleared out in the southern part of the premises. Objects of the blow-piercing armament, with which the animal was killed, were found in the area of the chest. Obviously the horse (stallion) had to accompany the Thracian king in his afterlife. In the northern half of the chamber, a complete set of silver ornaments for horse ammunition was put in a bag. The set is one of the few found in Thrace, both with its complete content and of such a high

⁶ In my opinion, the interpretation of the scene is unacceptable. It seems more plausible that the basic scene represents a Thracian ritual dance in front of the tomb, while the lonely and indifferent old man and lad should be perceived as priests in a process of preparation of the ritual act (KITOV, *in press*).

⁷ A fight between animals can be seen in applications from Lukovit, Letnitsa, Vratza, and many other finds.

⁸ The term "mausoleum" (KITOV 1977, 12 ff.) seems to me more suitable than the often used instead "heroon", "sanctuary" (ROUSSEVA 1987, 30 ff.), and others. Historically and religiously A. Fol has substantiated it (FOL 1990, 171).

⁹ This is the 22nd beehive chamber in Thrace-6 in Northern Bulgaria, 15 in Southern, and second in European Turkey (KITOV 1990, 116 ff.). The 23rd one was found in

1995 in the mound Golyama Arsenalka in the region of Shipka-Sheynovo – here, later on.

¹⁰ The mound Ostrusha is used as a necropolis during the early Byzantine epoch. The device has been found probably at one of the pits, has been robbed, and partly destroyed in IV century AC. The crypt had been searched for under the central funeral chamber, and a tunnel was dug, in which a part of the plates of the stereobate have sunk. Dozens of coins of Constantine the Great, shoe tacks, and other materials were found in the tunnel and in front of it. Because of intolerance to human images, and because of the plates of incrustated gold, many of the frescoes are scraped off and partly or completely destroyed. Fortunately, the robbers have not reached the floor of the southwestern chamber.



Fig. 5. A gold decorations on the inside walls of the silver phiale from Sashova mound. III-II century BC. Photo: Georgi Kitov



Fig. 6. The first chamber with the entrance toward the central room of the tomb with polychrome decorations in the Sarafova mound after opening the door. Photo: Georgi Kitov



Fig. 7. The antechamber and the chamber of the tomb in Slavchova mound with partitioned wall from south. Photo: Georgi Kitov

artistic value. It consists of a three-dimensional forehead-plate, six cheekpieces with an engraved decoration, a multitude of circular smooth applications, rings, and a bridle. Plant ornaments are presented on the plate of the forehead-plate, which resembles the symbol of power in ancient societies – the double axe. These elements are an echo of earlier animal images, which were modified meanwhile according to the tendencies of development of the Thracian art during this epoch (KITOV 1992, 71). The front part of the body of a griffin, which was a favorite monster in Thrace – a combination of a lion's body and an eagle's head, is depicted in the middle. The stylistic traits of this griffin give us the connecting unit between similar earlier and later images in the Thracian art, which was missing till now. The fact, that similar monuments, which were much more roughly made and without an understanding of the initial meaning, are widespread in Scythia (MOZOLEVSKII 1975, 166 ff.; MELIUKOVA 1979, 37 ff. and lit.; 1981, 67 ff.), hints that their prototypes should be sought in the works of Thracian art. The forehead-plate of the Shipka tomb belongs to these prototypes. The rest of the applications of the horse ammunition have engraved animal images. On four of them there are three griffin heads, which are twisted spirally so that each bites in the mane of the previous one¹¹. The other two are variations of the "connected lion's paws", which are widespread in the Thracian subject-matter¹².

Two silver vessels were found in the western chamber. The pitcher is of the so-called "Derveni" type¹³ – with a leaf-like decoration

on its body, which is well-known from the large Rogozen treasure (NIKOLOV/MASHOV/IVANOV 1988, 119, 143-153). The phiale has vertical embossed edges. A pectoral could be almost entirely restored from a multitude of silver fragments. It has an iron base and is covered with a silver, gilded foil with engraved plant and geometric ornamentation. The overall outline of the pectoral is sickle-like. It had been used undoubtedly as a front collar of a chain-mail or an armor¹⁴. Other similar fragments are still being processed and we cannot determine for sure whether they are pieces of a separate object or were used for the decoration of this chain-mail or armor, which is not preserved.

A sarcophagus-like grave, smoothed by huge stone blocks, was uncovered in front of the tomb. No archaeological materials were found in it although it turned out to be intact. Perhaps it had been a place for a symbolic funeral.

The last ones are acroterium and six antefixes. All of them are covered with plastic palmettes of a Thracian type, with leaves coiled inwards¹⁵, some of which resemble birds' or griffins' heads. Three of the antefixes are painted in pale pink and the other three in pale blue. Obviously they had crowned the edges of a fronton on a pleks. Judging from some analogies, the pink ones were along the eastern sides, and the blue along the western. Their placement and conscious arrangement out of the complex, which resembles a ritual "funeral", sets us before an unknown custom in the Thracian funeral practices, which needs further clarification¹⁶.

The Shipka tomb-mausoleum is a unique

¹¹ The closest analogy to the Shipka applications are the ones at the Mogilanska mound in Vratza (VENEDIKOV 1975, 18 ff.).

¹² The most characteristic similar applications, but carried out worse, are the ones at Panagyurishte and Bednyakovo (now Stoyan Zaimovo, Chirpan region) (FILOV 1916, 18, 23, № 29, 30, 45).

¹³ This name originates from the village Derveni near Thessalonica, where a pitcher with a leaf-like decoration on its body, was found (ANDRONICOS 1975, 22). In fact, a pitcher with such a decoration was found already in the second half of the last century in Rozovetz (former Rahmanli), between Brezovo and Pavel Banya, at about 35 km to the southeast of Shipka (FILOV 1934, 170, № 3, table 11, 1).

¹⁴ The only whole pectoral of this type is the one at Mezek (FILOV 1937, № 43). Two other similar, but fragmented pectorals are known from Vurbitza and Yankovo. L. Ognenova-Marinova made a successful attempt for their graphic restoration (OGNEVA-MARINOVA 1969, 407 ff.).

Two more similar pectorals, but very fragmented were found in 1995 in Tzviatkova mound and Golyama Arsenalka. They are in a process of restoration. So, three of the six similar pectorals originate from the Shipka-Sheynovo necropolis.

¹⁵ This type of palmettes prevails over the monuments of Thracian art. Besides on the architectural details, they are modeled on numerous ornaments and applications for horse ammunitions from the Shipka-Sheynovo necropolis.

¹⁶ The cases at Strelcha and Sveshtari are the most indicative ones. A chariot is buried in front of the beehive tomb in Zhaba-mound. It is covered up carefully with stones, so that its wheels could stand upright. Among the stones there are two acroteria with highly artistic images, as well as pieces of a stone door with a plastic decoration. Similarly, architectural details, for which it is assumed that they have not been scattered by plunderers, were found in front of the tomb in Ginina mound, near Sveshtari.



Fig. 8. The façade of the domed tomb in the Goliama Arsenalka mound with fallen down leaf from the two-leaved door and a part from partitioned wall. Photo: Georgi Kitov



*Fig. 9. A small silver jug and silver phiale from Leshnikova mound. End of the 5th century BC.
Photo: Georgi Kitov*



*Fig. 10. A bronze vessel from the grave from Leshnikova mound. Second half of the 5th century BC.
Photo: Georgi Kitov*

monument of the Thracian tomb architecture and of the art of painting, also because of the invested in it ideas. It has suggested what unexpected discoveries could be anticipated in the Kazanluk valley. And they were not late. In 1994 a tomb, which is particularly important from a scientific viewpoint, was found but, however, it did not reveal attractive building techniques or archaeological materials. It is in a way a tomb in a negative. It has a circular shape with a beehive cover and a corridor. The interior, however, is entirely filled with stones, which were firmly coated with a mud solution (KITOV 1995b, 65). The device had been pillaged during ancient times. Only fragmented objects of armament and clay vessels were found, which allow us to say that it dates back to the end of 4th or the beginning of 3rd century BC¹⁷.

The following year, 1995, turned out to be the most successful in the history of Thracian archaeology¹⁸. The series of sensational discoveries continued with the discovery and research of four monumental, completely preserved

Thracian tombs and over 450 objects of museum value, a large part of which are unique. Lots of new data about the Thracian antiquity was obtained, some of which would probably cause changes in the traditional interpretation of the Thracian history, culture, and religion.

The tomb in Sashova mound is unique not only with its peculiar design and with the unknown so far arrangement of the central tomb chamber, which is transverse to its axis line¹⁹, but also with the fact that it is the first monumental tomb in Thrace, which has not been pillaged and where the funerals are intact. The device has a 13-meter-long corridor, which leads to an ante-tomb chamber and through it, to the virtual funeral premises. The latter has a semi-cylindrical arch²⁰, located perpendicularly to the entrance. A stone bed²¹, over which the corpse of the first Thracian man has been laid, most probably of the king, is built to the left (to the West). He has a very well preserved bronze helmet of a Thracian type²². He has a wriggled silver torqua (a bracelet for the neck) on his neck.

¹⁷ This device obviously belongs to the necropolis of the capital of Sevt III, which has existed in the end of IV and the beginning of III century – Sevtopolis. Nowadays it is at the bottom of the “Koprinka” dam. Most of the mounds, which have been investigated in the last years in the region of Kazanluk, are out of the chronological frames of Sevtopolis. Imposing graves and tombs date back between VIII and I century BC, which is an evidence for the existence of another important city center in the region, which has not been localized yet. The literature about Sevtopolis is by D. Nikolov (Nikolov 1991, 71 ff.); about other centers (KITOV 1994, 89.)

¹⁸ I mean that other important monuments of Thracian antiquity like the treasures from Vulchitrun, Panagyurishte, Lukovit, Letnitsa, etc., as well as the tombs near Kazanluk and Mezek, for example, were found by chance. Here, for the first time a short review of the research in 1995 is made. Since a little more than a month has passed since the end of the excavations, it is natural that some formulations are not precise, and that the dating is liable to further precision. I was heading the investigation, while G. Lazov, E. Docheva, and G. Vuzvuzova from the National Historical Museum, K. Zafirov and E. Dimitrova from Historical Museum “Iskra”, Kazanluk, the geophysicists I. Katevski and N. Tonkov from AIM at the Bulgarian Academy of Science, other specialists, students and technical collaborators, were participating.

¹⁹ In contrast with the typical tombs with a semi-cylindrical arch, where the entrance is on the narrow side and the chambers are situated along the axis line.

²⁰ As it is known, these tombs carry the name “Macedonian” type because of the fact that they were found for the first time in the region of the ancient Macedonian kingdom and are still most numerous there (VULEVA 1994, 55 ff.). Until recently, only seven similar devices were known in

our country, six in Northern Bulgaria and only one in Southern -- Mezek. With the discovery of the tombs in Slavchova and Sashova mound in the region of Kazanluk in 1995, their number has increased to nine. Obviously, more tombs with a semi-cylindrical arch will be found in the future and it is not impossible that some of them turn out to be earlier than the Macedonian ones. Unfortunately, the precise dating of the building of the last two tombs in the region of Kazanluk, as well as that of most of the others, is complicated by the fact that they had been used for a long time, and that the materials are characteristic of the last funeral. Slavchova mound has considerable chances because under the floor of the chamber there is a level of traces from ritual actions, which precede the building of the device. When the fragments of clay vessels are cleaned up, possibly pasted together, and analyzed, perhaps a more precise dating would be possible. Here, I would like to mention that in 1981, near the village Slavyani, Lovech district, a stone tomb with a semi-cylindrical cover was found. There are reasons for it to be dated back to the end of V or the beginning of IV century AC.

²¹ The stone beds, which are characteristic for the “Macedonian type” tombs (VULEVA 1994, 55), had been also built in many typical Thracian tombs, as the beehive ones in Mezek, Malko Belovo, the newly found one in Goliama Arsenalka, in the necropolis of Shipka-Sheynovo, etc.

²² As the discovery of a helmet of a Thracian type during archaeological excavations was considered an extraordinary event, besides the one in Sashova mound, two other were found during the last summer. The one in Zareva mound is made of bronze and has superbly made cheek-pieces with a stylized beard on them. The other one was found in a complex funeral device in the mound Fomus and is made of iron.

An iron chain-mail²³ lies on his breast. The bed and the wall have fallen, a huge iron sword, an iron umbo for a shield with arch-like incisions, with which he resembles the symbol of the king's power – the double axe. A small bronze pitcher, with an egg-like body and an embossed image of a human head on the lower part of the handle, was also found there²⁴. A silver phiale of an unknown type lay near the pitcher. A 12-leaf star is modeled from gold on its bottom. It resembles the Macedonian star from the tomb of Philip of Macedon in the mound near Vergina in Northern Greece²⁵. The interior part of the walls of the phiale is decorated with three golden belts. The lowest constitutes the motif of the running wave, which is known from other monuments of the Thracian art as well. The middle one has alternating rhomboids and laurel leaves, which are stylized like a wreath²⁶. The upper belt, which is parallel to the mouth, consists of two rows of pearls, among which there are circles, connected with tangents. On the bottom there is an inscription, which has not been deciphered yet. A golden fibula of an unknown type was found at the same place. Three vertebrae with nests, incrustated with a dark blue material, the character of which is to be determined, are strung on the fibula's bow.

A horse is buried to the right of the entrance. The rest of the objects from the funeral stock – an iron bridle, a great number of clay vessels, some of which imported from Greece, 150 glass beads, and many other objects of an extraordinary scientific and artistic value, are situated

between the skeleton of the horse and the bed.

The tomb seems to have been built in the middle or in the second half of 4th century BC, and was used for more than a century as a mausoleum of the Thracian ruler, who was deified meanwhile. It was finally closed in the beginning of 2nd century BC, when the last funeral was performed there²⁷.

Another unique tomb, but with merits in other aspects, was researched in Sarafova mound. It has a corridor and two chambers. The corridor is built of stone blocks. It has had a flat ceiling and a two-slope ceiling, covered with well-baked and even artistically made flat and bent tiles. A horse, preserved in a full anatomical order, is buried in the corridor. Both premises are made of bricks²⁸. The first chamber does not have any archaeological materials. The second one was firmly sealed with a massive stone door²⁹. It had not been opened. When we opened it, we were standing in front of a difficult to describe view. Bones of human skeleton and an insignificant quantity of silver, clay, and bronze objects, were diffused on the floor. What caused admiration and surprise, however, were the elegant outlines of the space and the belts with multicolored decoration on the walls. The colors were fresh and strong as if they had just been laid on. Belts in pompous red, black-orange, violet, and pale pink alternated one over another. The walls gradually narrow from all directions and end up in a pointed roof.

The walls of the corridor and the first chamber had been decorated in the same way but

²³ The information that in the mound near Rozovetz (former Rahmanlii) a knitted iron chain-mail was found (SHKORPIL, H., K. SHKORPIL 1898, 125) as early as the middle of the last century, was perceived with distrust until the explosive increase of the finds of whole or fragmented chain-mails first in Kulnovo, Shumen region (G. Atanassov's excavations), later in Doyrentzi and Smochan, Lovech region (G. Kitov's excavations), Ravnogor in the Rhodopi mountains (KITOV 1989, 36 AND NOTE 22), and now, besides in Sashova mound, also in Slavchova, Tzviatkova, and others near Kazanluk.

²⁴ The pitcher is in a process of a laboratory treatment.

²⁵ As it is known, 8-, 12-, and 16-ray stars are modelled on gold there (ANDRONICOS 1984, 80 ff.).

²⁶ The ornaments on the forehead-plate from Ravnogor (KITOV 1986, 46) and the phalerae from Ivaylovgrad region are very similar in terms of the way of execution and the content (FILOV 1925, 33). In later researches these phalerae are mistakenly referred to as if they were found in the Krumovgrad region.

²⁷ The fact that during the entire 3rd century BC the tomb has been functioning as a mausoleum and has not been destroyed, casts suspicion on the widespread opinion about the strong Celtic attack on the Odriss state, especially in the region of Kazanluk.

²⁸ This confirms the opinion, which was already expressed, about the early introduction of the brick in the Thracian tomb architecture (CHICHKOVA 1975, 129 ff.).

²⁹ For the first time such a door is found in place. It is a thick stone plate, smooth on the outside and casseted on the inside. Its right long side (when looked from the outside) is round and ends up and down with cylindrical protuberances. The lower one fits into a cove in the stone threshold, and is strengthened with lead and iron. The upper one goes into a wide and thick iron loop, which is attached to the page by means of two wedges, which were fixed in it and connected with a lead backing. The plate was firmly stuck to the pages and its opening was not an easy work. After the opening the door was freely hanging on its axis.

their colors have significantly faded away. The tomb at Sarafovo mound is of a type, unknown to the Thracian tomb architecture. The arrangement of belts of polychrome decoration is also a novelty. It is older than the Kazanluk tomb³⁰ and is an evidence of the striking diversity in the works of the Thracian mural school.

The discovery of the tomb at Sarafova mound and of the other devices in the region can be accepted as a confirmation of the hypothesis for the existence of tombs-mausoleums in Thrace³¹. Simultaneously, this tomb poses another question. Why were so few archaeological materials found behind the firmly closed stone door? Furthermore, there were imprints of the bases of three large, probably metal vessels on the ground of lime plaster, as well as imprints of their handles near the wall. The most plausible explanation so far is the hypothesis that the gifts had been consciously taken out in a moment of danger for the Thracian state, in order to provide for the means for the collection of mercenaries and for the purchase of weapons³². After that the door has been closed again and remained in this way until nowadays.

Two other tombs were found in 1995. The one in Slavovo mound has a tomb chamber and an antechamber, opened to the south. Both are built of huge, well-processed stone blocks, connected with iron clamps, which were poured on with lead³³. The chamber was pillaged in ancient times. In spite of this, when sifting the soil, there were found a silver application with the

image of a lion-griffin, an iron scepter with a handle of a stag horn, some insignificant elements of a gilded wreath, pieces of clay vessels. A horse in a full anatomical state was cleared out in the antechamber. Besides a silver application, fragments of two large amphorae, which were restored, lay there. One of them has a rectangular seal of the manufacturer.

The most beautiful and the most architecturally valuable beehive³⁴ tomb among the 22 in Thrace, was found in the mound Goliamia Arsenalka. It has an imposing façade, a rectangular and circular chamber. The latter's floor is covered with big stone plates, arranged in three belts around a central one, with an excavation in the middle. It obviously symbolizes the sun, and the three belts around it illustrate the idea of the old Thracians about the structure of the world. A beautiful funeral bed is built opposite the entrance. The dome is 3,3 m high³⁵, and consists of precisely carved and arranged stone blocks, welded together with iron clamps, which were poured on with lead. The beehive tomb was also plundered during antiquity. The bones of the horse skeleton in the first chamber are scattered³⁶. Four golden applications³⁷, pieces of a silver gilded pectoral³⁸, and fragments of a golden wreath, all of which had remained from the gorgeous funeral, were found in the gaps between the floor plates and the bed. They allow us to judge that the tomb was designed for a Thracian king, who had deceased most probably in the beginning of 5th century BC. It was

³⁰ A black-firnis kantharos with vertical ribs was partially recovered from fragments, which were found in the corridor. It cannot in any way be dated back later than the last quarter of IV century BC, which is several decades earlier than the time in which the Kazanluk tomb was built and its frescoes drawn.

³¹ See note 14. It has been definitely determined stratigraphically that the tomb has been built after the removal of part of the embankment of a ready mound. The foundations lie at a level not less than 1 m over the old terrain. Besides, under their own weight the walls have fallen into the weak embankment layer below them and the floor is warped upwards.

³² It is possible that this has happened during the time of some of the crusades of Lizimach or in the beginning of the Celtic invasions around 280 BC.

³³ The chamber and the antechamber are covered with a false semi-cylindrical arch. The cutting of the blocks is after the third vertical row and is extremely precise. See notes 30 and 31 with regard to this type of tombs. The arching is along the axis line of the antechamber and

the chamber.

³⁴ See note 15.

³⁵ The difference between the height and the diameter of the chamber is only 2-3 cm in favor of the height. This distinguishes it from the one at Mezek, where with the same diameter the height is over 5 m.

³⁶ In the other three tombs the horse skeletons are in a full anatomical condition. Six more horse skeletons were found in the excavations -- two in Tzviatkova mound and one in four other mounds.

³⁷ The applications have a rosette at one end, transverse embossed edges in the middle, and a griffin's head, when looked from above, at the other end. Similar applications, but which were made of gilded silver, were found in Tzviatkova mound, and purely silver applications -- in Sarafova mound. They are similar in type with the others from Mezek (FILOV 1937, p. 30 ff.), Kravevo (GINEV 1983, 31 ff.), Koprinka in Kazanluk region and Dolna Koznitza in Kyustendil region (THE RICHES OF THE THRACIAN RIVERS. TOKYO, 1994, N 14, 25, 7), and others.

³⁸ See note 23.

used as a mausoleum subsequently. During the plunder, the two two-wing stone doors have been taken out of their axes, and have fallen on the ground.

Golden, silver, bronze, and iron ornaments, a multitude of applications for horse ammunitions, objects of the armament, local and imported³⁹ vessels of clay, bronze, and silver, and many other archaeological materials, were found in the rest of the mounds in the region of

Shipka-Sheynovo in 1995. With the discovery of the last four tombs, their number in the region of Kazanluk grew up to twelve⁴⁰. There is no doubt that most of them are kings'. This gives us grounds to define the region around Kazanluk as the Valley of the Thracian kings. New interesting finds expect us in the forthcoming research of the other, several hundred unexcavated mounds in this valley⁴¹.

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³⁹ Three big craters with a rich black-figured decoration are among them, including Dionysius's scenes.

⁴⁰ Apart from those, mentioned here, there are two half-destroyed brick beehive tombs in mounds #2 and #3 in Sevtopolis (CHICHIKOVA 1975, 133 ff)

⁴¹ A partial review of the mounds in the region of Kazanluk

is done by ТАВАКОВА-TZVETKOVA (1991, 105 ff.); DOMARADSKI (1991, 126 ff.): In reality, the mounds are much more than the ones, noted in the mentioned publications and marked on the used topographic and cadastral maps. The collaborators at the Historical Museum "Iskra", Kazanluk estimate them at around 1500.

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Jewellery Fashion of the Western Pontic Colonies in the Hellenistic Times (from the territory of Bulgaria)

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Ювелирството в Западнопонтийските колонии през Елинизма
(от територията на България)

В статията са разгледани елинистическите ювелирни находки от Западнопонтийските колонии. Те дават ценна информация за контактите между тези градове и останалите центрове от периода, както и за местните предпочитания или художествени умения. Освен това те показват ролята на coloniите при дистрибуцията на вносните стоки към вътрешността на Тракия. Импортирани или произведени в местни работилници, те носят са работени в стила на гръцката елинистическа бижутерия..

През ранния елинистически период Одесос е играл важна роля, през средния елинистически период Месамбрия и Аполония са били по-активни, а през късния - доминира Анхиало. Разцветът на тези градове е предствен и чрез предметите на лукса, някои от които са импортирани от задморски ателиета.

Fine gold jewels, most often with polychrome decoration, were fashionable during the Hellenistic period in the colonies on the western Black Sea coast. These objects give information about the connections between the coastal cities and their relations with the other Hellenistic centres, as well as about the local tastes and artistic faculties. Such finds speak also of the role the colonies played in the distribution of the imported goods into the interior of Thrace. Imported, or products of local workshops, as a whole they belong to the artistic traditions of the Greek jewellery and follow its rhythm of development through the three stages of the Hellenistic Age – Early, Middle and Late.

During each of these periods different centres from the coast were more active. Through the first one that was Odessos, during the 2nd-Messambria and part of the time - Apollonia and during the 3rd - Anhialo. To some extent this conclusion is a result of the differences in the stage of investigation of the necropolises. It also reflects the peculiarities of the cultural processes that took place there. It is logical that the flourishing of the towns often found expression in luxurious gold jewellery usually imported from overseas workshops.

Odessos and its hinterland Early Hellenistic jewellery fashion

Almost all of the Early Hellenistic jewellery which has reached us was found in the necropolises of Odessos and its hinterland. We have no data about the fashion in the southern colonies - Messambria and Apollonia. Graves of this period with jewellery until recently were not found in Nessebar. Examples of precious metal are almost absent in the ancient cemetery of Sozopol. At the same time, gold jewellery, often masterpieces of the Greek goldsmiths, have inevitably presented amongst the burial offerings in the rich mound graves of the interior of Thrace south of Balkan¹. Obviously, these objects reached the Thracian centres through different roads and the two Pontic colonies had not always got a primary importance (TONKOVA 1994b, 165-166).

The repertoire of the fashionable jewellery in Odessos and its region includes representative earrings, exquisite necklaces and fingerings and large decorative buttons, rich clothes accessories. Most of the finds come from graves dated from the end of the fourth century till the beginning of the 3rd century BC. There are adornments from burial mounds from Odessos

¹ The comparisons between the jewellery fashion of the coast and that of internal Thracia, the argumentation of the date of the burial complexes with jewellery as well as

all conclusions on the development of jewellery in Thracia during the Hellenistic Age are a result of the author's studies in her Ph.D. thesis on this theme



Plate I. Jewellery from the Odessos necropolis: 1-4 - Early Hellenistic Age; 5 - Late Hellenistic Age

(present Varna) (ИВАНОВ 1956; САВОВА 1971; MINCHEV 1988) and from the Thracian necropolis situated not far from the city of Galata (now a quarter of Varna) (ТОНЧЕВА 1951; ИВАНОВ 1956, 92; HIGGINS 1961, 217; МИНЧЕВ 1975). Several objects found in Kavarna come also from the same region (ДИМИТРОВА 1989, табл.15; ВАСИЛЕВ 1985, 23: табл. III, 1; THEODOSSIEV 1994, 113).

The earrings, usually with lion head terminals belong to a type which was very popular in the Hellenistic world and was disseminated in the Thrace too (ДИМИТРОВА 1989, 3, табл. I, 1-3, 5. - *here Pl. I, 3*). There were also earrings in the form of a disc. Wonderful examples of this type were found in mound No 6 in the necropolis of Galata (ТОНЧЕВА 1951, 61, обр. 112 а, б. - *here Pl. II, 4*). In mound No7 there was also one local imitation of the same type (МИНЧЕВ 1975, 137, 140, табл. III, 2-4 - *here Pl. II, 6*). Closest parallels to the discs from Galata are the earrings from Kyme, Asia Minor (MARSHALL 1911, N 2059) and from South Italy (VAN DEN DRIESCHE 1971, 88). From Odessos comes a pair of disc earrings executed with perfection. They

have pendant shaped as winged female figurine, identified usually as Nike (САВОВА 1971, 6-8, обр. 6-10. - *here Pl. I, 2*). These earrings with complicated construction made with great skill have exact parallels from Izmit, situated on the coast of Asia Minor at the Straits and also from North Greece (FIRATLI 1964, 109-110, pl. 43, 2; DEPERT-LIPPITZ 1985, 228, fig. 165). Though these examples were found at places situated quite far from each other, their style and way of manufacture give reason to consider that they were made in one and the same workshop in the Aegean region. As far as the identification of the figurines is concerned, most reasonable is the opinion of M. Andronikos, according to which they do not represent Nike but a female hypostasis of Eros (ANDRONIKOS/YALOURIS 1980, 136). It is based on the insignia fairy from Varna - a rhyton and phiala.

The necklaces from Galata, made of simple spherical beads (ТОНЧЕВА 1951, 61, обр. 113. - *here Pl. II, 3*), as well as those from Varna, represent a popular Greek variant (RUXER 1938, 381). Such were also found in the interior of Thrace (ФИЛОВ 1937, 75, 77, обр. 33, 8-9; 84, 3). Another

er kind of Greek necklace, made both of simple and of decorated beads, and a pendant shaped as a bull's head is typical of Odessos (САБОВА 1971, 5, обр. 5; MINCHEV 1988, 463, pl. 70, 1.- *here Pl. I, 1*). It has no parallels in Thrace but is typical of the jewellery of the colonies from the coast of Asia Minor and the northern Black Sea coast, especially for Pantikapaion (GREIFENHAGEN 1975, fig.1; AMANDRY 1963, 234, fig. 138; ТОЛСТОЙ/КОНДАКОВ 1889, 59, обр.79; MINS 1913, 400, tabl. 12, g; GREIFENHAGEN 1970, 42, tabl. 19, 6-8). Parts of necklace from Odessos belong to a comparatively rare type of Greek jewellery consisting of cylindrical beads and a pendant in the shape of a pyramid (ИВАНОВ 1956, 93, обр. III, 2). Similar one was found in Istria (BURDA 1979, kat. 34).

The fingerings from the first period have a smooth plate or a decoration in relief. On the specimens from the necropolis at Galata this is a representation of a female face (ТОНЧЕВА 1951, 60, фиг. 102-103; МИНЧЕВ 1975, 137, табл. III, 1а, б.- *here Pl. II, 1-2*) and on the ring from Varna - of Eros (ИВАНОВ 1956, 89, табл. I, 2.- *here Pl. I, 4*). The big buttons or claps in the shape of discs are also characteristic of the necropolis of Odessos (ИВАНОВ 1956, 89, табл. I, 2. - *here Pl. I, 4*). They were being fastened by means of a cylindrical element and not of pin or a fibula. The latter is typical of similar adornments from Messambria (ГЪЛЪБОВ 1955, 141-142, обр. 7).

The adornments from Odessos belong to types well known in the Early Hellenistic Period. Most of these objects are among the best examples from this time and their style, as well as the techniques which were used, like for instance the earrings with the winged figurine, give a reason to consider them real masterpieces. They bear the characteristic of the typical of the Greek art realistic style. All techniques known at that time were used by the artist who made them. Among them is hammering on a die to obtain relief representations on earrings, rings and pendants. Only in one case casting was used for the making of the winged female figurine from Odessos. For decoration of most of the objects was used fine granulation for covering the surface, marking the centres of rosettes and spirals, for covering the edge of the disk-shaped earrings and buttons and only in one case (the necklace of cylindrical beads) for

covering the whole surface. Filigree was used for the outlining of all kinds of elements of the decoration. More rarely were applied inlay and enamel for obtaining polychrome impressions (ТОНКОВА 2002). With little color stones were marked the eyes on the lions' heads on two earrings from Odessos. With enamel was decorated a pendant of a necklace in the shape of a pyramid from the same place. There was used the technique of covering the hole element with blue enamel, a manner characteristic of the late fourth century BC as well as of the following periods (HOFFMAN/DAVIDSON 1965, 10; RUXER 1938, 381). Typical of the imported Greek adornments from the region of Odessos is the applying of a technique which has not been often described in publications - filling, consisting of cork or resin for making some elements firm, like for example the beads and the pendants shaped as a bull's head or pyramid. In Thrace, according to our observations, this technique was used for the making of the gold wreath from Rozovets (ФИЛОВ 1934, 164-166).

There is no doubt that more of the objects described above were imported in the colonies on the Black Sea coast. Notable is their great resemblance to adornments from the Aegean region where were situated the crafts centres creating the jewellery fashion during the Early Hellenistic Period. As it was pointed out, some adornments, like the winged figurine from Odessos and the necklace with a bull's head, have exact parallels from different regions of ancient Greece. To our opinion, the presence of similar and even identical objects of this kind which represent a long tradition in the Greek jewellery typical of these Black Sea centers, could be explained with the fact, that these places were situated on the trade route between the eastern Mediterranean and the Western and Northern Black Sea regions. The population in the latter regions was consumer of fashionable goods, disseminated from one and the same groups of famous workshops in the Aegean region. About the characteristic features of these workshops have written several authors like St. Miller (MILLER 1979, 8, 49-51) and P. Amandry (AMANDRY 1953, 88). For the present, as far as these regions are concerned, we cannot speak of another direction of dissemination of the early Hellenistic jewellery (for example from north to south).

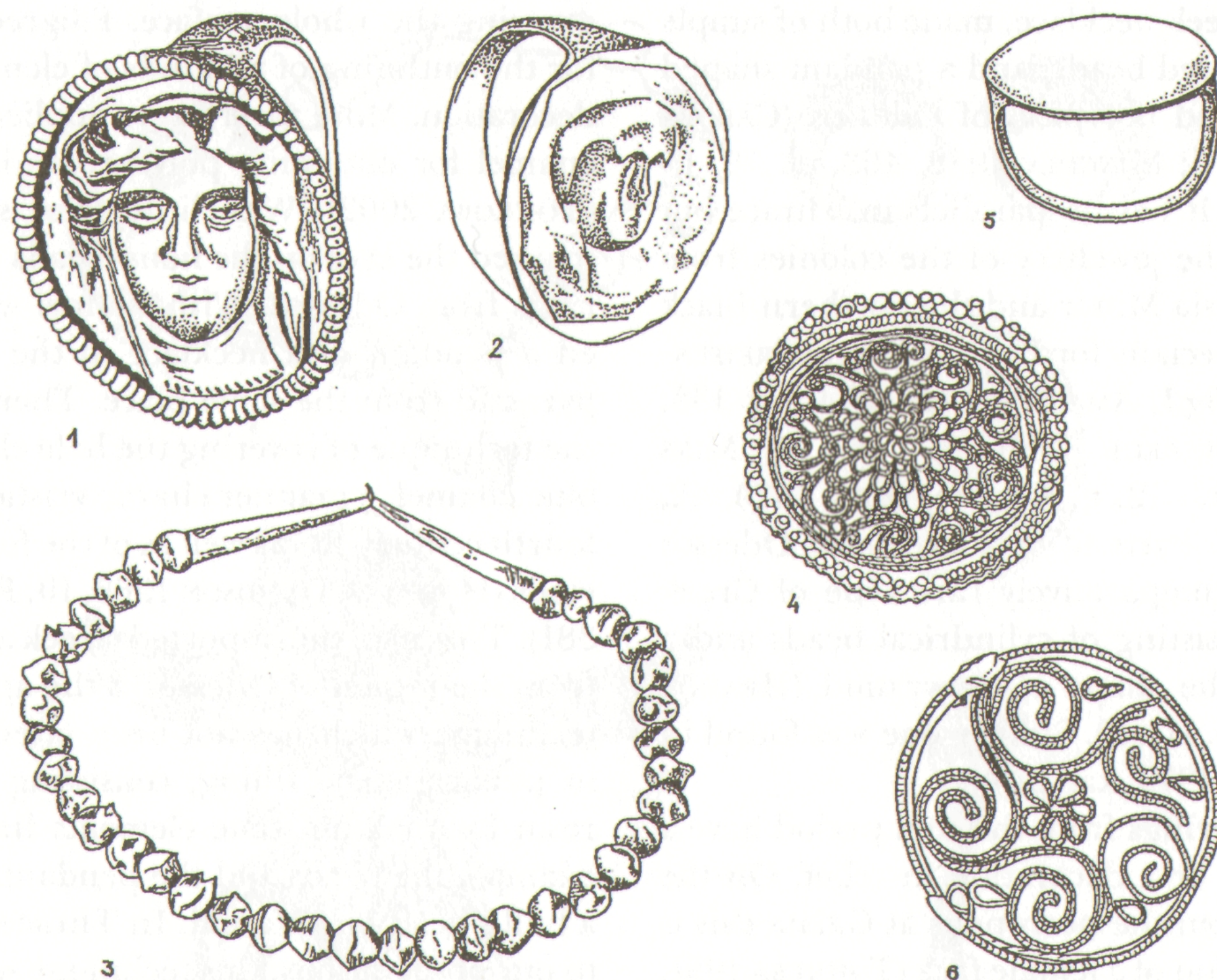


Plate II. Jewellery from the Thracian necropolis of Galata - Early Hellenistic Age

The popularity of the imported Hellenistic jewellery naturally resulted in imitations made in local workshops. Many finds from the region of the western Black Sea coast speak of their production (Солж 1962, 115-119; Минчев 1980, 19; Kolkowna 1980; Tonkova 1994a, 185). Such adornment, obviously preferred in Odessos can be found among the earrings with lions' heads and in the shape of discs, as well as the fingerings with a plain or relief plate from Galata. Such are also the gold lamellae from Kavarna. It is not easy to evaluate the artistic of the craftsmen representing the different workshops. Among the adornments there are some, the quality and the style of which are very different from those of the imported (Минчев 1975, 141), but there are others which differ only in some details concerning the decoration or the workmanship. The later objects could be considered imported as well as products of skilful local craftsmen.

The assortments from Odessos are very similar to those from the necropolis at Galata and this can be explained with the trade activities of Odessos which was a mediator in the process of dissemination of imported goods into the neighboring settlements (Брашински 1970, 15).

However, it is possible that the local fashion had its own peculiarities in the different districts. For example in the burials from Odessos most often are presented earrings with lions' heads and necklaces with a pendant shaped as a bull's head. These varieties are not represented in the necropolis at Galata. Here have been found mostly disc-like earrings without pendants and fingerings with a relief representation of a female face which are not known from Odessos. However, these adornments represent only varieties of the main types and their distribution could be a chance phenomenon, or they might have been used in different time within the boundaries of the Early Hellenistic Period which is difficult to be established.

Several types of jewellery were typical of Odessos and its district during the period - different disc-like earrings and earrings with lions' heads, necklaces with a bull's heads pendant, and rings with plain or decorated in relief plate. They are decorated with floral motifs or figures including anthropomorphic ones. Of those, only the lion-head earrings especially preferred by the Thracian aristocracy were disseminated in the interior. This is an expression of an intentional choice made from among the

Hellenistic jewellery coming from the colonies, because only the traditional forms and motifs were accepted in Thrace. The comparison between several such examples of this type of earrings from Odessos and some settlements near the Balkan (without engraved spirals on the collars) shows that in Northeast Thrace this type came from Odessos where it was first imported (ДИМИТРОВА 1989, 10).

Jewellery fashion of the Middle

Hellenistic Age - the workshops of Odessos, Messambria and Apollonia

During the 2nd period of development of jewellery, coinciding with the Middle Hellenistic Period (2nd half of 3rd and the 2nd century BC), gold adornments typical of the Hellenistic fashion were disseminated extremely seldom in the interior of Thrace. In these regions were popular the traditional Thracian forms and motifs, imported La Tene jewellery or adornments made in local workshops influenced by the La Tène ones (ДОМАРАДСКИ 1984, 138-142; ТОНКОВА 1997). Almost all Hellenistic adornments were found on the Black Sea coast not in the interior. As a rule these are new types or developed jewellery forms and motifs known from the Early Hellenistic Period.

Odessos

Evidence of the active role of Odessos during the second period is one burial with finds including gold jewellery - a necklace consisting of band-chains with a medallion and appliques decorated with relief representations of Eros, Aphrodite and Artemis and a hoop earring with a lion head terminal (МИРЧЕВ 1947, 239-241, обр. 1-3. - *here Pl. I, 5*). The stylistic peculiarities of the adornments characteristic of the end of 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd century BC give reason to date the burial a century later than the date pointed in the first publication on them. The busts of the deities represented on the necklace are typical of the jewellery fashion of this period. The closest parallels of these images are from the eastern Mediterranean coast (MILLER 1979, 35, pl. 20 a; 21; DEPPERT-LIPPITZ 1985, 278). Their style and iconography are similar but the workmanship is very different. For the making of the medallions from Odessos were used the traditional of the period tech-

niques and no enamel or inlay were applied. This professional conservatism speaks that the workshop in which they were made was situated far from the Mediterranean centres of jewellery production, which were leading in the establishing of the fashionable for the period polychrome style. Good evidence of the dating of the find gives the earring which can be dated to the 2nd century BC. It represents a late variety of the earrings with lion-head terminals and its elements (hoop, collar, proportion) have parallels only from the territory of present Northeastern Bulgaria, of the northwestern and northern Black Sea coast (ДИМИТРОВА 1989, 3, 8, табл. I, 16, Вариант II). Therefore, we may suppose that this is a local variety. Odessos is one of the possible centres of production of such jewellery or at least one of the centres whence they were disseminated. Almost identical earrings were found in Thracian territories near the Balkan to the north of it (ДИМИТРОВА 1989, 9) with which Odessos maintained active contacts like in the previous period. This workshop had created its own aesthetic conception (though within the frames of the Hellenistic fashion) and defended it on a high professional level.

Another set of adornments with unknown origin has characteristic features typical of the same workshop. It could be related with Odessos as well as with other colonies situated to the north of the Balkan. This find consists of a hoop earring terminating in a head of a lion-griffin and several elements of a necklace - a medallion shaped as a disc and crescent-like pendants (*Pl. IV*). They could be dated to the end of the 3rd and the 2nd century BC. This type of necklace and earring has close parallels among the Greek adornments of different centres. However, identical specimens or objects with identical characteristic elements were found only on the northern and northeastern Black Sea coast where most likely they were made (ДИМИТРОВА/ТОНКОВА 1989, 70-75).

Of interest is a pair of earrings with bull-head terminals about which there is information that were found in the district of "Dionysopolis (present Baltchik) or in Dobroudja" (ФИЛОВ 1910, 225, обр. 1.- *here Pl. III, 2*). They could be taken as evidence of the role of mediators which the Black Sea centers played in this region. These earrings are considered products of

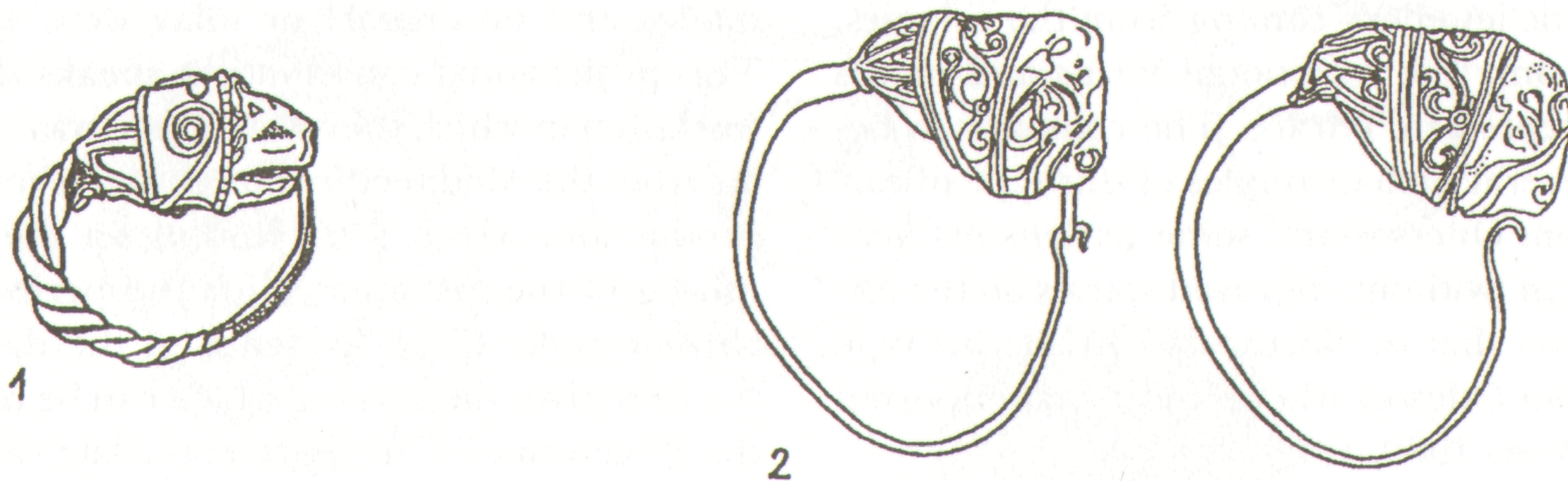


Plate III. 1. Earring from Kavarna - Early Hellenistic Age; Earrings from the region of Balchik or Dobrudja - Middle Hellenistic Age

an eastern workshop because of the characteristic stylization of the bull's head (ВЕНЕДИКОВ/ГЕРАСИМОВ 1973, 101). Most of the identical objects were found on Cyprus where we may look for the origin of the type (НАДАСZEK 1903, 46; HIGGINS 1961, 161, 213). Conservatism is characteristic of its development, which might be explained with the supposition that it was traditional in the centres where it was produced. I. Venedikov has dated the earring to the 3rd century BC (ВЕНЕДИКОВ/ГЕРАСИМОВ 1973, кат. 184). In consideration of their closest parallels, we may date them more precisely to the period after the middle of the 3rd century and even

to the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd century BC (HOFFMAN/CLAER 1968, kat.76; DEPERT-LIPPITZ 1985, fig. 191). This date is confirmed also by the techniques applied - enamel, pseudo filigree and pseudo granulation. The earliest earrings with enamel found in Thrace are from a grave from Messambria dated to the second half of the 3rd century BC (ЧИМБУЛЕВА 1964, 58, обр. 3, а-в). In a grave from Apollonia (present Sozopol) dated to the end of the 3rd century BC were found earrings decorated with pseudo filigree and pseudo granulation (МЛАДЕНОВА 1963, 294, табл.159). The proportions between the different elements of the earrings with bulls' heads which are similar to those of the earrings with lion-head terminals from the second period (ДИМИТРОВА 1989, 8-9, вариант II - here Pl. I, 5) also support the supposed date.

Messambria

Most of the finds from Messambria can be referred to the very end of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BC. This marks a comparatively short but very fruitful period of the development of jewellery in the colony. These chronological boundaries have been established considering the dating of the burial complexes as well as the style of the adornments offered in the graves.

In the outset of their study the jewellery from Messambria has been referred to the second half of the 3rd century, but now they can be related with a better certainty to the jewellery fashion of the 2nd century. I. Galabov has dated the rich graves with gold jewellery generally to the 3rd century BC, pointing out grounds certain complexes to be dated also after the mid-



Plate IV. Set of Jewellery with unknown provenance - Middle Hellenistic Age

dle of the 3rd century (ГЪЛЪБОВ 1955, 129-147). In an article devoted especially to the jewellery I. Frel has dated most of the jewellery from Messambria to the period around the middle of the 3rd century BC (FREL 1963, 61-69). In the graves which were excavated later and dated to the 2nd half of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd century BC were found many specimens belonging to the same types and even identical ones (ПЕТРОВ/ЧИМБУЛЕВА 1963, 26; ЧИМБУЛЕВА 1964, 61; CIMBULEVA 2005, 91-103). In his turn M. Pfrommer dated the adornments from Messambria to a shorter period - from the end of the 3rd to the beginning of the 2nd century and pointed out that one of the complexes with adornments came from the second half of the 2nd century (PFROMMER 1990, 249-250, FK 95-98).

These chronological frames are accepted in the present study on the base of the following arguments. The earlier complex with jewellery in polychrome style is dated in the very end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd century according to the date of a black-glazed cup decorated with a rosette and a frieze of dolphins in a West slope style. A cup from Pergamom with a rosette in the same style is related towards 220 BC (SCHAFER 1968, 58-59, Taf. 10, D2), and another similar cup from Messambria, but with a different frieze, is dated in the 2nd century (OGNENOVA 1960, 230, Abb.9; PFROMMER 1990, 250, K 98, ref. 2035). The blossoming of the jewellery fashion in Messambria continued at least to the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century. Grounds for this conclusion gives the cup with a relief decoration with a frieze of galloping bigas with Nike and floral patterns found in a grave abundant in gold jewellery (ГЪЛЪБОВ 1955, 134-135, обр. 5). It has been considered as a product of one of the most significant Ionian workshops functioning in the late 2nd century. For the date of the articles from Messambria of particular importance is the fact that the production of the workshop, called "Atelier du Monogramme", was in circulation before 125 BC, too, when a Celtic *oppidum* was destroyed and where fragments of vases of this type were found (LAUMONIER 1977, 131-132).

The fact that several types and components of decoration were repeated so often can be explained by the relative ephemeral flourish-

ing of the splendid jewellery fashion in Messambria. The adornments from Messambria are mainly golden, most of them with polychrome decoration. In this city were popular the hoop earrings terminating with a head of lion-griffin, head of a maenad or a protome of Pegasus; chains with golden terminals decorated with a colour bead and a head of a lion-griffin, spiral snake rings, ring with a profiled bezel as well as brooches. Here we would like to point out some arguments concerning their dating. The earrings with a head of a maenad (ЧИМБУЛЕВА 1964, 58, обр.3, а-в.- here Pl. V, 4; CIMBULEVA 2005, 104-105, fig. 17/1) were popular in the 3rd century and later on (HIGGINS 1961, 162; Greifenhagen 1975, 58-59, pl. 471, 2, 3; Marshall 1911, N 1699-1700). The earrings with a forepart of Pegasus (ГЪЛЪБОВ 1955, 141, обр. 15, а, 6) have close parallels of the 3rd century BC found at Montefortino at Arcevia (HADACZEK 1903, 50, fig. 90; for the date cp. HIGGINS 1961, 164). M. Pfrommer (1990, 249, OR 471) dates the examples from Messambria in the early 2nd century. A pair of brilliant hoop-earrings terminating with a head of a lion-griffin and a bead of cornelian was found in a grave from Messambria with materials of the late 3rd - 2nd century BC (CIMBULEVA 2005, 99-100, fig. 13/1). The very characteristic of Messambrian chains with golden terminals with the same motif (ГЪЛЪБОВ 1955, 141-144, обр. 9; 10, д; ПЕТРОВ/ЧИМБУЛЕВА 1963, 25; ЧИМБУЛЕВА 1964, 58, обр.4, а, б. - here Pl. V:1) have many parallels of the end of 3rd and the next century (GREIFENHAGEN 1975, 119, pl. 9; HIGGINS 1961, pl. 51 B; MARSHALL 1911, N 1964; МАКСИМОВА 1979, 54, фиг. 10). However, some of the terminals from Messambria have some peculiarities like the elongated silhouette of the lions' heads, collars profiled like triangles and other characteristics of the style repeating in a great number of articles, a fact showing that they are a product of one and the same workshop.

Another peculiarity of Messambrian jewellery fashion are the spiral serpentiform fingerings, a type broadly attested in the Greek jewellery (GREIFENHAGEN 1975, 119, pl. 9; HIGGINS 1961, pl. 51 B; MARSHALL 1911, N 1964; МАКСИМОВА 1979, 54, фиг. 10). A fingering with a snake's head was found in a grave from Messambria of the end of the 3rd century BC

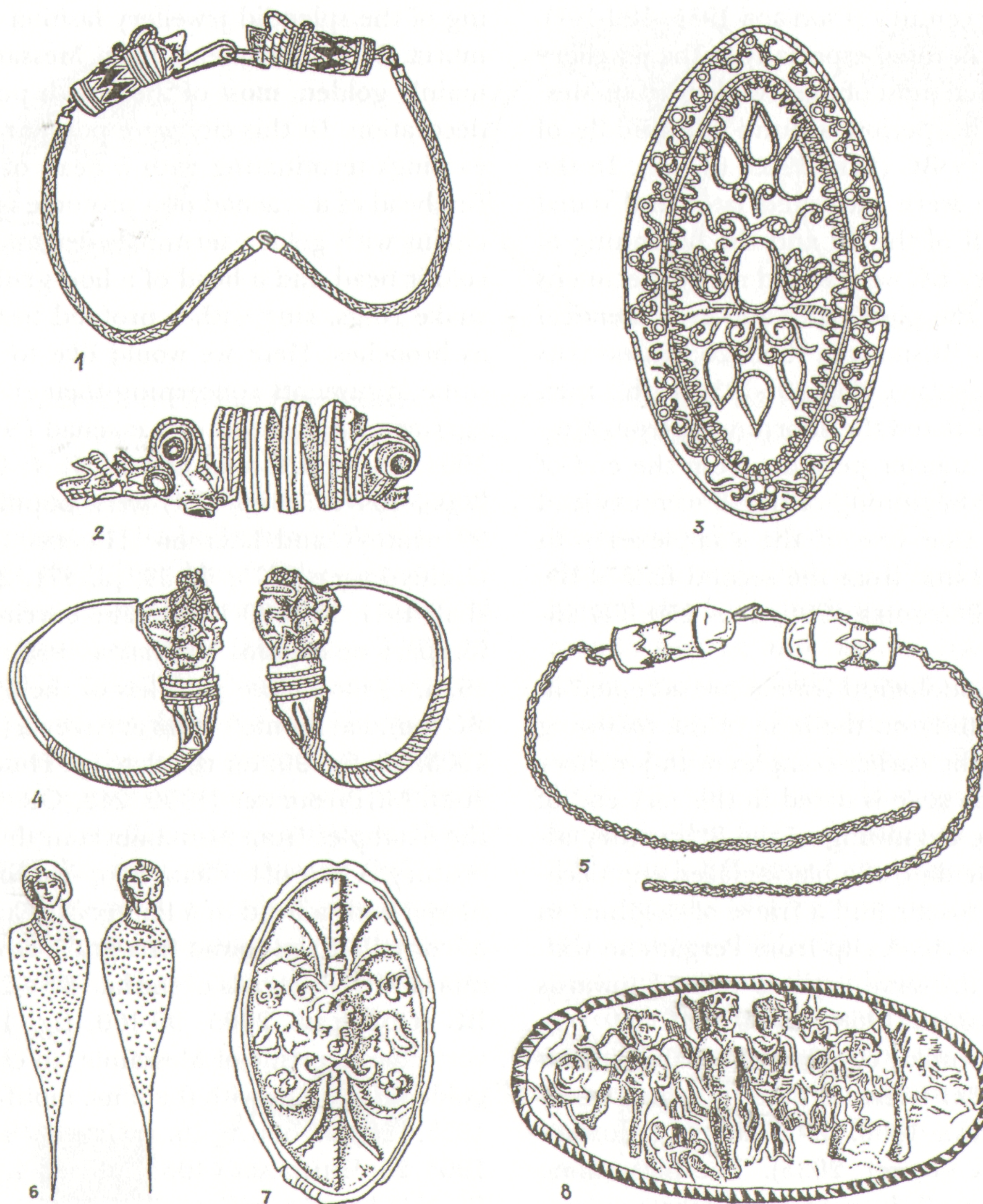


Plate V. Jewellery from necropolis of Messambria - Middle Hellenistic Age

(ЧИМБУЛЕВА 1964, 57, обр.1; ср. also the commentary above). Similar to that but terminating in a head of a demon and with inlay decoration is another well-known fingering from Messambria (*Pl. V.2*). Taking into consideration the style of the ring it has been dated to the middle of the 3rd century (ВЕНЕДИКОВ/ГЕРАСИМОВ 1973, кат. 202) or the first half of the 2nd century BC (DEPERT-LIPPITS 1985, 273-274).

According to some opinions the earrings with a demon's head could not be Greek (FREL 1963, 66) but might be Thracian (ГЪЛЪБОВ 1955, 135; ВЕНЕДИКОВ/ГЕРАСИМОВ 1973, 102). However, the opinion that they have a Thracian origin is disputable since there are spiral bracelets with

identical images identified as Ketos found in several Mediterranean centres - from Eretria, of the end of the 3rd century BC (HOFFMAN/DAVIDSON 1965, N 68), and from the hoard Carpenisi (?) in Thessaly, of the first half of the 2nd century BC (AMANDRY 1953, NN 262-263; 1963, 249). A bracelet of this variety is represented on the hand of Artemis on a medallion from the same hoard. This personage is represented on other kinds of adornments too (AMANDRY 1953, 118).

Characteristic only of Messambria are also the rings with a profiled bezel. There are six rings of this type belonging to two variants. The first are with broadened shoulders which join

the plate forming an acute angle (ЧИМБУЛЕВА 1964, 58, обр. 2, а; 60, обр. 26). The second are with straight shoulders (ГЪЛЪБОВ 1955, 141, обр. 9, г, д; 145, обр. 10, а, б). Three of the rings are local imitations. This type is characteristic of the period 3rd-2nd century BC (Laffineur 1980, 414; Henkel 1913, 103). Rings, identical or similar to those from Messambria were found in Crete, Thessaly, Kertch and Tarentum, others now belonging to the collection "Canellopoulos" (HIGGINS 1961, 174, pl. 54, d; AMANDRY 1953, 105-106, pl. XII, fig. 65; ONDZEJOVA 1975, 35, pl. I, II, N 4; LAFFINEUR 1980, kat. 106, figs. 115-116; ALESSIO 1985, 296, kat. 226). A glass ring belonging to the first variant was found in a grave in Apollonia of the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd century BC (МЛАДЕНОВА 1963, 310, табл. 166, N 1000.- *here Pl. VI, 6*).

The brooches are another typical representative of the fashion of Messambria. This kind of adornment consists of a plate with a fibula for fastening it. Five of those were found - three gold ones, one made of silver and one made of bronze (ГЪЛЪБОВ 1955, 141 сл., обр. 7; 8, б; 9, б; 11; ЧИМБУЛЕВА 1964, 58, обр. 5.- *here Pl. V, 3, 7, 8*). Only one of them could be considered imported (ЧИМБУЛЕВА 1964, обр. 5.- *here Pl. V, 3*). Similar to it (as far as the shape, the style and the details of the decoration are concerned) are two brooches from Melos from the 3rd-2nd century BC which are considered Ionian production (HOFFMAN/DAVIDSON 1965, 196, N 74). The way the brooches were fastened also signifies that they date in the 2nd half of the 3rd century or later on (ДОМАРАДСКИ 1984, 139). According to some opinions these decorative plates have a mutual origin with the Thracian pectorals (ВЕНЕДИКОВ/ГЕРАСИМОВ 1973, 106). However, their style and construction as well as the pointed out comparisons with similar adornments show that they were used in more conventional way - to fasten the piece of cloth on the shoulder or on the breast.

I. Frel divided the adornments from Messambria into two groups - imported and produced in a local workshop according to the quality of the jewellery workmanship (FREL 1963, 63-65). In the first one are included objects which can be considered belonging to the masterpieces of the Hellenistic jewellery. Many adornments belonging to several types and variants and even

identical objects were found in Messambria. This could be explained with the links of Messambria established for a short period with one or several jewellery centres where these similar objects were made. It is difficult to locate these foreign centres because of this period was characteristic homogeneous style of jewellery which makes the regional differentiation not easy to establish (MILLER 1979, 50). Very often almost identical adornments are found on the northern and the western Black Sea coast, in the Aegean region, in the Eastern Mediterranean region as well as in South Italy. In spite of this fact, it is reasonable to look at the Aegean region for the centers with which Messambria was in contact because there were found the closest parallels belonging to the same types, variants and even identical objects. The homogeneous style and the high quality of workmanship of the gold jewels from Messambria can also find another explanation which seems to be more reasonable. These characteristics are perhaps, sooner, an indication of the high professionalism of the local craftsmen and workshops. It is more probable that Messambria itself, showing an economic prosperity in this period, would have been amongst the leading centres of Greek jewellery.

The adornments from Messambria give reason to draw conclusions on the development of the Hellenistic jewellery in general. They represent evidence illustrating the change in the jewellery fashion after the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd century, represented by new forms and motifs, executed in a different style. The brooches can be considered as a new kind of adornment. Many of the examples from Messambria are decorated with a winged thunderbolt. New forms were accepted especially among the rings - spiral rings and such massive or hollow with a profiled bezel. As far as the other kinds of jewellery are concerned new motifs came into use. The hoop earrings for example were decorated with lion-griffin, maenad, forepart of Pegasos. The chronology of these hoop earrings offered here (the end of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BC) confirms the B. Deppert-Lippitz's supposition about the time of introducing of the different motifs in the Hellenistic jewellery. According to it, the hoop earrings were decorated first with

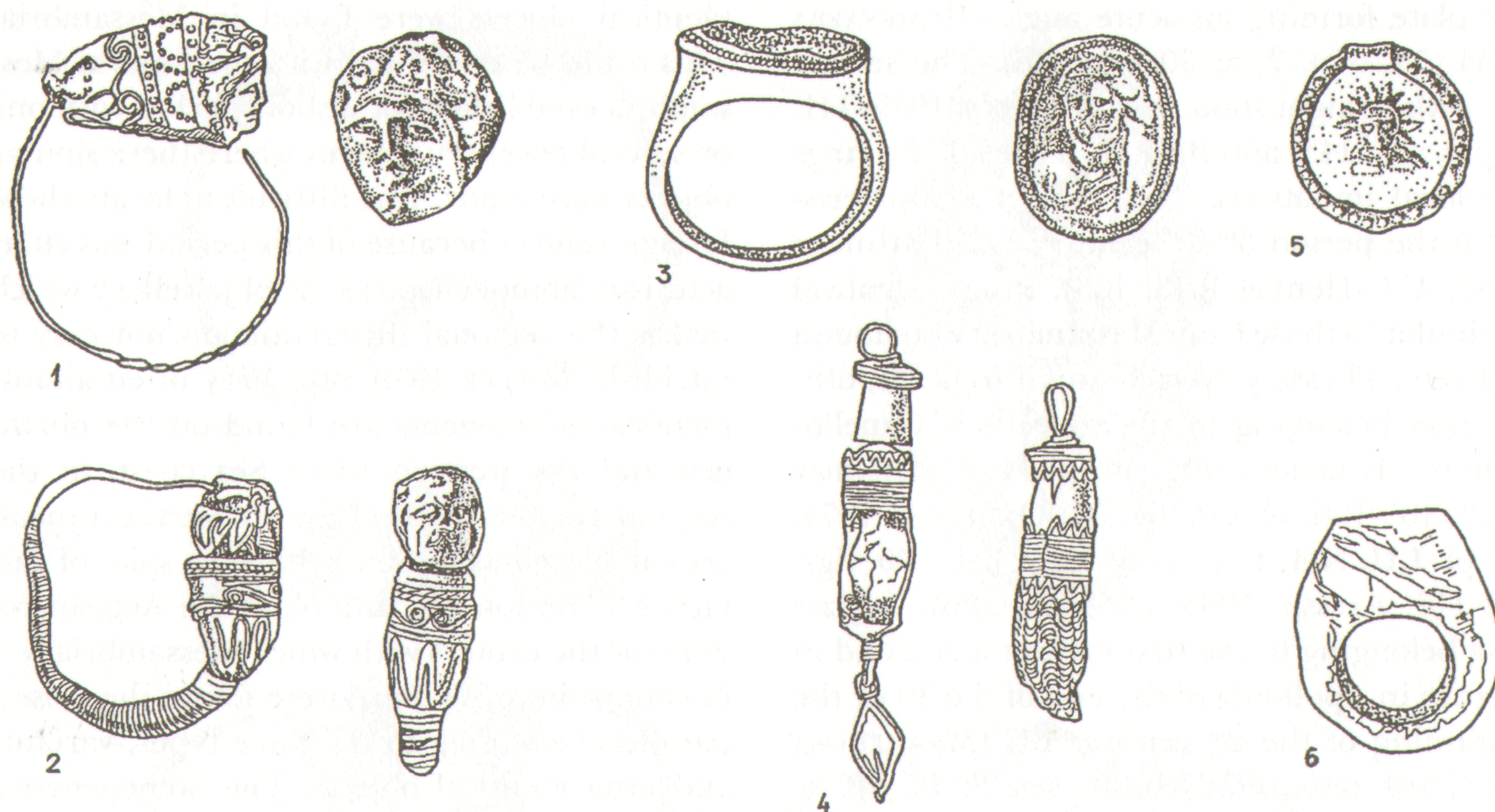


Plate VI. Jewellery from necropolis of Apollonia - Middle Hellenistic Age

lions' heads and then appeared the other figural representations (DEPERT-LIPPITZ 1985, 202). According to the examples from Messambria it can be supposed that this change occurred around and after the end of the 3rd century. The dating of the spiral serpentiform fingerings to the end of the 3rd or in the first half of the 2nd century makes the chronology of the dissemination of this type more precise. This fact may be used as a fulcrum of the supposition that the spiral rings as well as perhaps the spiral bracelets were in use in the Middle and the Late Hellenistic Period and not earlier (PFEILER-LIPPITZ 1972, 114; DEPERT-LIPPITZ 1985, 273).

Another characteristic feature of the jewellery from Messambria is the polychrome decoration (TONKOVA 2002). Almost all objects are decorated with inlay and one with enamel. According to the publications the stones used are opal (actually cornelian), amethyst, red, green and brown stones, blue glass pearls etc. The finds from Messambria have helped for making more precise the chronology of one typical of this region type of jewellery - the necklaces with terminals composed of a colour bead (of cornelian or glass paste with red colour, according to professional expertise performed recently by Ruslan Kostov) and a lion-griffin head. They have shown that in the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd century the golden collar was

replaced by a colour stone bead or a glass one in a gold casing. From the interior of Thrace, the early Hellenistic chains with gold terminals from the mound of Mezek (ФИЛОВ 1937, 77, обр. 84, 4) represent a suitable example for comparison. M. Maximova has recorded a similar observation on the chains from the Artuhovsky kurgan. According to her the change took place around the middle of the 2nd century BC (МАКСИМОВА 1979, 34). According to the existing date of the complexes with chains from Messambria obviously this change had already occurred a little bit earlier. It has to be taken into account that in one of the complexes along with an adornment of this type the already described cup with relief decoration which, as it was mentioned, dates after the middle of the 2nd century.

The second group of adornments from the cemetery of Messambria consists of gold foil imitations of original gold specimens (Pl. V, 6-8) which are products of local workshops. Since they are fragile and their workmanship is not precise, they have been considered as objects used in the funerary rites (ГЪЛЪБОВ 1955, 138-139; Frel 1963, 63). There are imitations of the most kinds of the "solid" adornments from Messambria like earrings with a maenad head (Pl. V, 6), chains with lion-griffin terminals (Pl. V, 5), rings with profiled bezels, the snake fingerings. Through other examples made of gold foil like

disc earrings with a pendant shaped as Nike, earrings with a pigeon, brooches with figural compositions etc. (ГЪЛЪБОВ 1955, 135, 144, обр.8, в, г; 11, 14) we receive information about other types of original gold adornments which are expected to be found in Messambria. The jeweller has tried to make a relief representation without paying much attention to the details. I. Frel supposes that they were made into imported dies (FREL 1963, 65). According to me, it is possible that they were hammered over models of perishable material. Another manner for manufacturing some of the decorations is also presumable. The great resemblance to "solid" adornments from the same necropolis, as well as the often amorphous character of the images, makes us suppose that they were made by pressing the foil on original gold objects of the same type. According to the observations of P. Amandry (AMANDRY 1963, 215) in this way most likely were made imitations of adornments belonging now to the collection of H. Stathatos.

Apollonia

In Apollonia too, the Middle Hellenistic Period was marked by flourishing of the jewellery fashion. The number of the gold adornments increased. In fact, almost all gold specimens found in the ancient necropolis of Apollonia belong to this period (МЛАДЕНОВА 1963, 293). In a grave of the end of the 3rd century was found a ring with a relief representation of Aphrodite and Eros, terminals of a necklace with a garnet in a casing and a Negro head and hoop earrings with a head of a maenad (МЛАДЕНОВА 1963, 302, 294-296, N 956, 909-912, табл.158, 159, рр. 702.- here *Pl.VI, 1, 3, 4*). Another pair of earrings of the same type but representing another variant was found in a grave of the end of 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd century BC (МЛАДЕНОВА 1963, 296, N 913-914, табл.159.- here *Pl.VI, 2*). The first two finds can be considered Hellenistic adornments imported in Apollonia because of their complicated construction, precise workmanship and numerous parallels among the Hellenistic jewellery. There is not evidence that in Apollonia there was a workshop with these professional characteristics.

The number of the finds from Apollonia is not great so we should not draw general conclusions. However each of the objects gives op-

portunity interesting observations to be carried out. The ring with representations of Aphrodite and Eros (pl. VI, 3) was found in a grave from the end of the 3rd century BC, but J. Mladenova has expressed the opinion that its shape is closer to the 4th-century rings, so she has dated it "not later than the end of the century" (МЛАДЕНОВА 1963, 300). It is true that the shape (hoop fitting the from of the finger, round shoulders and raised bezel or plate) relates it to a type which existed for a long period of time among the Hellenistic jewellery (BOARDMAN 1970, 219, type XI, XII, XIII), but the images represented associates it with the production of the period 3rd-2nd century BC. Two parallels come from this time - a ring from Tanais and a die for production of similar rings from Tirytake (KOLKOWNA 1980, 112-114). Another example - the image on a ring from the hoard Carpenisi (?) in Thessaly (AMANDRY 1953, 105-106) is closest to that from Apollonia. These images were very popular in the 2nd half of the 3rd century BC and later on, a fact confirmed by many medallions of the same period from Kampanari, Thessaly as well as from the northern and western Black Sea coast (GREIFENHAGEN 1975, pl. 68, 4; HOFFMAN/DAVIDSON 1965, N 91; AMANDRY 1953, 99-100, N 235; GREIFENHAGEN 1970, 40, pl.17; МЛАДЕНОВА 1963, 299, табл. 158A).

In the same grave of the end of the 3rd century were found also the terminals of a necklace (*Pl. VI, 4*) with obliterate Negro heads of colour stones, probably garnet. For the reconstruction of the motif we have found a base in modern earrings and necklace terminals. The closest parallel of the manner the hair is represented is the earring from Kyme in Asia Minor of the end of the 4th century or later (HIGGINS 1961, pl. 47G), and of the construction of the whole fastener - the necklace from Budva dated to the 3rd-2nd century BC in accordance with the dating of the necropolis in which it was found (RENDIC-MIOCEVIC 1959, IV, 15, fig.5). It supposed that the necklace and the earrings with Negro heads from Budva had come from Tarentum. Reason for this statement has not been the motif, which is considered of oriental origin and typical of Alexandria but some peculiarities of the technique used as well as the style. Considering the great resemblance between the fastener from Apollonia and the earring from Kyme we may

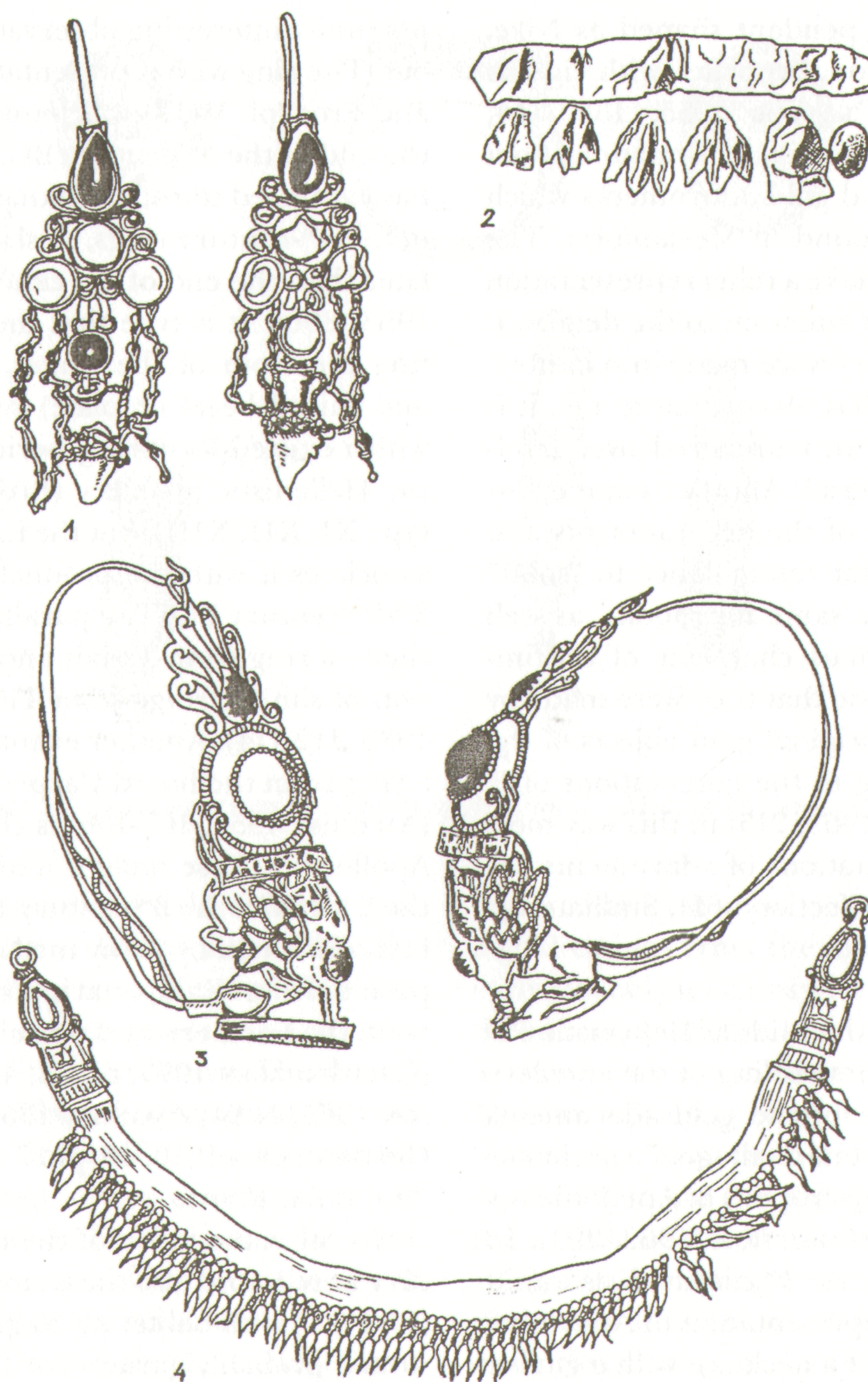


Plate VII. Jewellery from a burial mound of Anchialo - Late Hellenistic Age

look for a connection between this find and an eastern workshop. Other parallels to the fastener from Apollonia can also be pointed out - from the museum at Houston, dated to the late 3rd century BC (DEPERT-LIPPITZ 1985, 221, fig.157), from Melos, dated after the 3rd century BC (MARSHALL 1911, pl.XXXVI, N 1961), etc.

The earrings with female head (*pl. VI, 1*) from the same grave are not of good quality. The craftsman had a good die for the face but the rest of the elements were not carefully made. The decoration of the collar is hammered on the inner side (pseudo-filigree and pseudo-granulation) and the places of the joints are not covered. The hoop is made of gold band which

makes it unstable. The local craftsman did not follow exactly the pattern of the original earrings (compare the earrings from Messambria) and applied a composition known from the earrings with animal heads.

The second pair of earrings of this type (*pl. VI, 2*) could be considered product of a local workshop. The earrings are quite precisely manufactured and bear traces of a long use. Obviously they were roughly repaired - the front part of one of them was replaced by a plain plate, perhaps because of lack of a suitable die.

The style of the adornments from Apollonia is different from those found in Odessos and to a great extent from the Messambrian ones. This

fact supposes connection with different Hellenistic centres and limited links between these colonies themselves. We may, however, speak about some similarities between the taste and fashion of Apollonia and Messambria - at both places were popular earrings with a head of maenad - but the adornments belong to different variants so they could not be considered evidence of direct links between these two cities.

For this period too there is not evidence that Messambria and Apollonia were mediators in the dissemination of the Hellenistic jewellery into the interior of Thrace. In Thrace there are no traces of the jewellery fashion popular in the two colonies and as a whole the gold adornments (all of them imitations of Early Hellenistic ones) are very rare. During the 2nd half of the 3rd and the 2nd century BC the culture in Thrace was, as it has been mentioned, under the strong La Tène influence and the leading tendency in the development of jewellery was different.

Jewellery fashion of the Late Hellenistic Age: jewellery of Anchialo

We have scarce evidence about the development of the jewellery in the colonies on the western Black Sea coast in the period 1st century BC - 1st century AD. There is almost no information about Apollonia and Messambria. The few late Hellenistic and early Roman adornments (a gem and a fingering with a gem, ДИМИТРОВА-МИЛЧЕВА 1980, 9 с бел. 11) found in Odessos will be discussed after their publication.

A rich find of gold adornments from Anchialo (present Pomorie) can be outlined against this general situation. It consists of a pair of hoop earrings with a figurine of a sphinx and another type composed of plate with inlayed stones and an amphora pendant, two necklaces - one of plaited band with amphora-like pendants and another one consisting of separate elements and lion-head terminals, and a golden funeral wreath. The adornments are from a rich burial mound dated to the end of the 1st century BC or the beginning of the 1st century AD (БАЛАБАНОВ 1976, 4, 28-30 - here *Pl. VII*). Most of these objects are related to the late Hellenistic jewellery (ДИМИТРОВА 1982, 3, 35 с бел.6) fashion and only some of them could be dated to the very end of this period to which also belongs the burial itself. Though the two pair of earrings

and the plated band necklace belongs to types which appeared in different periods they have similarly executed elements so they make a set created by one and the same jeweller.

The earrings have inlayed stones and amphora-like pendants (*Pl. VII, 1*). This type of earrings appeared, and different variants were being disseminated, in the period 2nd-1st century BC (HIGGINS 1961, 166, type 5C; DEPERT-LIPPITZ 1985, pl. XXXI). The necklace (*Pl. VII, 4*) could hardly be dated after the beginning of the 2nd century BC, which would lead some changes in the conclusions concerning the development of this type. According to the accepted for the present dating the necklace from Anchialo is not only one of its late representatives but it is separated by more than a century from identical specimens from the hoard from Halmyros in Thessaly (RUXER/KUBCZAK 1972, 239, pl. XII, 1, XXXI, 3, fig.8,h; AMANDRY 1953, 110-112, pl.XIII, kat.252; SEGALL 1938, 39, N 33, pl.XII). There would not have been such a contradiction if the supposition of R. Higgins concerning the necklaces with polychrome decoration was taken into consideration. According to it "the terminals decorated with inlayed garnet appeared on a later stage, probably not before 200 BC" (HIGGINS 1961, 168). The necklace from Anchialo cannot be dated to a period later than the 1st half of the 2nd century BC. To the same time is dated an identical necklace from Messambria recently displayed in the History Museum of Nessebar (ЧИМБУЛЕВА/КОЖУХАРОВ 2000, 84, обр. 1).

The earrings with a figurine of a sphinx (*pl. VII, 3*) represent a variety of the earrings with whole figures. Though R. Higgins has not paid special attention to the period of dissemination of these earrings, he has pointed out that above the figures usually there is an inlayed garnet and he has gave examples from the late 3rd and the 2nd century BC (HIGGINS 1961, 168). As far as the earrings from Pomorie are concerned the dating element is the decoration on the head of the sphinx - garnets in a drop-like casing which appears on different types of earrings from the 2nd and first century BC (MILLER 1979, 62, pl.25; DEPERT-LIPPITZ 1985, 256, pl.XXXI; AMANDRY, 1963, 115, 218, fig.123).

The second necklace from this grave is not published yet. Only separate elements of it have

been preserved – terminals with zoomorphic decoration. It is also simultaneous to the rest of the objects from the set. It belongs to a type popular in the 2nd and the 1st centuries BC as well as later in the Roman period. A more precise dating of the necklace can be based on the combination of two specific elements - animal-head terminals and precious stones in casing. This combination we also see on the necklace from Artyuhovsky kurgan (from the middle of the 2nd century or little later) considered one of the earlier representatives of this type (HIGGINS 1961, 169, type 4; МАКСИМОВА 1979, 23, 57, обр. на стр. 29)

All this means that the adornment from Anchialo found in a grave from the end of the first century BC - the beginning of the first century AD, bear the specific stylistic features of the Hellenistic jewellery of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st century BC. In the lavish decoration of some specimens with polychrome stones could be found the further trends of the development of the craft.

The conservatism in the choice of forms and motives, the use of Early Hellenistic construction for the composition of the plated band necklace, the skilful applying of jewellery techniques speak of a professional workshop with long traditions. For the present, there is not enough evidence of its location in the region of the bay of Bourgas, nevertheless as it was mentioned, it can be supposed that in the 2nd century BC such leading jewellery centre was Mesambria. The same opinion has been expressed by P. Balabanov who thinks that it is very likely these adornments to have been produced in a local workshop (БАЛАБАНОВ 1976, 31).

The wreath (*pl. VII, 2*) is the only gold adornment from this find which can be considered with a certainty as a local product made in a time close to that when finds were buried in the

grave. It belongs to a type of funerary wreaths, the appearance of which is related to the end of the first century BC (МАКСИМОВА 1979, 131). In contrast to the representative "solid" Earlyhellenistic examples these objects consist of a band with fastened foil leaves. Their specific function and fragile construction suppose that they were made in a local workshop right before being put in the grave. This statement supports the supposition that the wreath and the grave itself date from the end of the first century BC or the beginning of the first century AD (БАЛАБАНОВ 1976, 31).

The fact that the wreaths appeared once more in Thrace can be explained with the new cultural situation on the Balkan peninsula and in particular with the strengthening positions of Rome through which was revived an old tradition preserved in other centers during the whole Hellenistic period. The wreath from Anchialo is the earliest example of this new period. Later, these wreaths were put mainly in rich graves in South Thrace which date from the middle and the 2nd half of the first century AD (БАЛАБАНОВ 1976, 31).

The jewellery fashion in Anchialo in the end of the first century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD was totally under the influence of the late Hellenistic traditions. At the same time (and especially in the 2nd half of the 1st century AD) into the interior of Thrace products of Italian and provincial roman workshops penetrated. They expressed the two tendencies in the development of Roman jewellery - the Hellenistic and the Italian one. What was the role of the coastal centres in the process of dissemination of these new stylistic trends is difficult to suppose. For the present, we may judge only by several finds from the 1st century AD from the Roman pool of the sanctuary at Aquae Calidae near Burgas (ДИМИТРОВА-МИЛЧЕВА 1980, кат. 98, 115, 213).

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Belgae Expansion Into South Eastern Europe and Asia Minor (4th–3rd century B.C.)

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Експанзията на белгите в Югоизточна Европа и Мала Азия (IV–III в.пр.Хр.)

Келтското нашествие към Югоизточна Европа и Мала Азия в края на IV и в началото на III в.пр.Хр. оставя след себе си кратък политически, но дълготраен културен отзвук на Балканите. Въпросната експанзия бива приписвана или просто на “келти” с неуточнен произход или, погрешно, на “галите”. Подобен феномен откриваме не само у съвременните автори, но и в древните гръцки и римски извори. Всички налични свидетелства навеждат на мисълта, че воините, водени от Бренос през 279 г.пр.Хр., са били всъщност белги – една самостоятелна в политическо и културно отношение племенна група келти, която има тесни генетични връзки с германските племена. Авторът счита, че този факт би могъл да хвърли до известна степен светлина върху все още спорния въпрос относно етническата принадлежност на племето бастарни. Оказва се, че докато келтската вълна, заляла Италийския полуостров, се е състояла от галски племена, то инвазията на Балканите и основаването на Галатея в Мала Азия са извършени от белги.

As has been said of the Thracians – ‘the ethnonym does not denote the united people of a single state but covers an innumerable population that inhabited vast territories in Europe, the demographic core of whom manifests identical or similar culture-historical features during all the main periods of its existence’ (FOL ET AL. 2000, 8). A similar distinction must be made when one talks of the Celtic expansion into the Balkans and ultimately into Asia Minor during the period in question. A tendency to lump these Celtic forces together under the terms ‘Gauls’ or ‘Celts’ (a phenomenon common even in ancient historical sources) has hitherto failed to take into account the different ethnic and cultural groupings within the race which falls within this umbrella term. It is of paramount importance, therefore to establish more precisely the ethnic origins of the participants in this invasion. In the name of the Celtic general – Bolgios/Belgius – who attacked on the western flank through Macedonia, ultimately destroying the Macedonian army and killing Ptolemy Keraunos, we have the first indication as to the ethnic/tribal origin of the Celtic armies. It is quite probable that the name of the leader of the western Celtic army – Bolgios, is derived from an ethnic appellation. The testimony of Justin adds weight to the theory, referring to this leader not as Bolgios, but as Belgio:

Igitur Galli duce Belgio ad temptandos Mac-

edonum animos legatos ad Ptolomeum mittunt, offerentes pacem, si emere uelit (Just. XXIV, 5; Cf. Trog. Pomp., Prol., XXIV – ‘Belgius, Leader Of The Gauls’).

Classical authors mistaking ‘barbarian’ titles for personal names is certainly not without precedent. A number of factors give us reason to believe that there were members of the Celtic Belgae confederation among the expedition. We know for example that the Volcae Tectosages were one of the three tribes later to cross into Asia Minor and participate in the subsequent establishment of the Celtic state of Galatia under Lutarios and Leonorios (Memnon, XI, 6; Pliny V, 42; Strabo XII, 5, 2). In Caesar’s time the Belgae were a confederation of tribes who were settled between the Seine and the Rhine. The peoples comprising this nation are well documented in historical sources. (The Treviri, Mediomatrici and Leuci tribes in the east; the Remi, Suessiones, Catuvellauni, Meldi, Parisii, Silvanectes in the west, and in the north and west the Vellocasses, Bellovaci, Caleti, Ambiani, Atrebates and Morini, Adatuci, Eburones, Nervii and Menapii (Plin. IV, 105; Ptol. II, 9; Caesar, II, 3, 4, 11; IV, 19). The Treviri, Remi, Meldi and Volcae Tectosagae tribes are of particular interest to us in the present context.

The Belgae confederation were a distinct group within the Celtic family. Caesar, in the first lines of his Commentaries on the Gallic

War, states this clearly ('Gallia est omnis in partibus tres, quarum incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam, qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur'). While Caesar's Aquitania was bounded by the Garonne, that of Augustus reached to the Loire, but the eleven tribes of the greater Aquitania, living between the Garonne and Loire – the Pictones, Santones, Bituriges, Cubi, Lemovices, Cadurci, Petrucorii, Nitobriges, Arverni, Vellavi, Gabali and Rutini – formed a group distinct from the province as a whole. Evidence of this is provided by the method of recruiting troops, for under the empire these peoples had a special *dilectator*. The peoples north of the Garonne formed another unit and their territories in the third century were separate. In these two cases, as in that of the Belgae, we have pre-existing relationships between the natives taken into consideration by the Romans. They were similar to the distinctions which made Belgica and Aquitania south of the Garonne separate regions from the rest of Gaul. These were associations which were political in some cases but had a racial element at their core and were thus different from political associations created simply by the alliance of two nations or the subordination of one to another. The same considerations may explain why certain neighboring *civitates* are placed together in small groups, for example for the collection of taxes, and also the subdivisions of the provinces introduced under Diocletian (HOLDEN II, 128; Nonetheless their underlying ethnicity, as with the Belgae was Celtic – 'About the same time Publius Crassus, the son of Marcus Crassus, subjugated nearly all of Aquitania. The people are themselves Gauls and dwell next to Celtica, and the territory extends right along the Pyrenees to the ocean' – Dio. Cass. 39, 46, 1). Caesar, in his Commentaries, continues: 'Of all the people the bravest are the Belgae. They are the furthest away from the culture and civilized way of the Roman province, and are least often visited by the merchants who bring luxuries which tend to make people soft; also they are nearest to the Germani across the Rhine and are continually at war with them'. The evidence of Strabo substantiates this ethnic division. He tells us that the country next in order after the

Aquitanian division and Narbonensis reaches as far as the whole of the Rhenus, extending from the Liger river and also from the Rhodanus at the point where the Rhodanus, after it runs down from its source, touches Lugdunum. He adds – 'Now of this country the upper parts that are next to the sources of the rivers (the Rhenus and the Rhodanus, extending as far, approximately, as the centre of the plains, have been classified under Lugdunum; whereas the remaining parts, including the parts along the ocean, have been classified under another division, I mean that division which is specifically assigned to the Belgae'; Strabo IV, 3).¹ Strabo also mentions the Germani living mixed among Celtic tribes, including the Belgic Mediomatrici and Sequani and as neighbours of the Leuci ('After the Elvetii, along the Rhenus, dwell the Sequani and the Mediomatrici, in whose territory are situated the Tribocchi, a Germanic tribe which crossed the river from their homeland. Mount Jura is in the territory of the Sequani; it marks the boundary between the Elvetii and the Sequani. So it is beyond the Elvetii and the Sequani, towards the west, that the Aedui and the Lingones dwell; and beyond the Mediomatrici, that the Leuci and a part of the Lingones dwell; Strabo, IV, 3). Of the Sequani, Pliny (Pliny IV, 106) explicitly states that they were Belgae. They seem to have had a particularly close relationship with the Germani. Strabo informs us that the Romans bore a grudge against them because they had helped the Germani to invade Italy and indeed appear to have been in some sort of alliance with them.

'But across the Arar dwell the Sequani, who, for a long time, in fact, had been at variance with the Romans as well as with the Aedui. This was because they often joined forces with the Germans in their attacks upon Italy; aye, and they demonstrated that theirs was no ordinary power: they made the Germans strong when they took part with them and weak when they stood aloof' (Strabo, IV, 3).

This comparison and Belgae links to the Germani is indeed significant (particularly in relation to the ongoing dispute among academics as to whether the Bastarnae were of Germanic or Celtic origin.) However, despite Caesar's as-

¹ <http://www.ukans.edu/history/index/europe/ancient_rome/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/4C*.html>

signing the Belgae as a different ethnic group, there is little doubt that they were ethnically Celtic. While the Belgae may have had links to the peoples across the Rhine, they also retained strong ties with Celtic peoples outside their confederation. The Remi tribe were patrons of the Carnutes (B.G. IV, 5) and the Bellovaci had strong links with the Aedui tribe (B.G. II, 14,2). In the first page of his Commentaries, he also writes of them speaking a different dialect from other Gauls (not a different language), while Strabo (IV, 1,7,6), also speaks of slight differences of dialect and indeed says that the Gaulish of Belgica was not much different from the language of the Aedui, the Gaulish tribe settled between the Loire and the Seine. We also know from Ausonius that the Volcae Tectosages tribe called themselves Belcae Tectosagi:

Qua rapitur praeceps Rhodanus genitore
Lemanno,

Interiusque premunt Aquitanica rura Cebennæ,

Usque in Tectosages paganaque Belcas,
Totum Narbo fuit

(Ordu Urbium Nobilium, XIII, 7–10; ‘Belcae = Volcae’ – Cf. Pauly CCCIXVIII, III, Cols. 198–199).

Of the Volcae Tectosages tribe Caesar further informs us that they had occupied territory inside Germania itself, – ‘It was in this way that the Volcae Tectosages came to take possession of the most fertile districts of Germania, near the Hercynian forest, which seems to have been known to Eratosthenes and some other Greeks under the name of Orcynian. There that tribe has maintained itself to this day, and enjoys a great reputation for justice and courage’ (B.G. VI, 24). Tacitus (Tac. Germania, XXVIII) repeats Caesar’s information and mentions other Celtic people east of the Volcae – the Boii in Bohemia and the Cottini in Silesia. Ammianus Marcellinus, in a detailed passage about the Gauls also adds – ‘the Druids relate that part of the population was really indigenous, but that others had come in from the outermost isles and the regions beyond the Rhine: (‘Drasidæ memorant revera fuisse populi partem indigenam sed alios quoque ab insulis extimis confluisse et tractibus Transrhenaïs; XV, 9,2; Ammianus’s source is Timagenes of Alexandria, a valuable

historian who relates most of the classical traditions about the Celts.). Marcellinus propounds another reason for their migration – ‘They were driven from their homes by the frequency of wars and the violent rising of the waves’, (Crebritae bellorum et adluvione fervidi marissedibus suis expulsos; op cit), which suggests earlier contacts with the Germani.

The expansionist tendency of the Belgae tribes is well attested to. In Hispania Tarracensis we find the placename Belgida (Diod. XXXI, 39), and also a Belgica. Another city Suessatium recalls the name of the Belgic Suesiones (see HUBERT II, 77). Interestingly we also find in Spain a people called the Germani who were Celto-Iberians (Pliny III, 25). Possibly best documented in historical, archaeological and numismatic sources is the Belgae expansion into s. Britain and Ptolemy (Ptolemy 3,13) mentions a civitas Belgarum, which covered eastern Somerset, Wiltshire and the north of Hampshire. In writing of Britain, Caesar commented that the coastal areas, ‘maritima pars’, had by his time come under the influence of people of a Belgic origin – ‘ex Belgio transierant’. He further describes Kent, the territory over which he advanced, as ‘quae regio est maritima omnis’, which some historians, have interpreted to mean that it was the only maritime territory. However, as Rodwell comments, “the sense of Caesar’s account suggests that it was an important part of a wider maritime district”, an assumption that can be supported by evidence of coinage (see RODWELL 1976, 208). While it has usually been argued that the invaders settled in Kent and the Thames valley region and that Gallo-Belgic coins were associated with the incoming migration, this now seems less likely, and a stronger case can be made for a limited incursion into the east Solent region penetrating Hampshire. The strongest evidence for this is that under the early Roman reorganization of the province this area of Hampshire was known as the canton of the Belgae. One of their main towns was called Venta Belgarum, now Winchester. Caesar (B.G. V, 12, 1–2) informs us that, ‘The interior of Britain is inhabited by people who, according to their own tradition, are aboriginal. The coast is occupied by others, who came from Belgia on looting or warlike expeditions, and have almost all kept as tribal names those of the

tribes from which they are descended. Brought in by war, they settled down and proceeded to cultivate the land.'

The Belgae had also expanded into the s.e. of Gaul by the 3rd century B.C. Here we find them in the province of Gallia Narbonensis occupying the district between the Garumna, Cerbenna mons and the Rhodanus. They appear to have been divided into two main groups – the Volcae Arecomici and the Volcae Tectosages (whose territory included that of the Tolosate tribe) on the west separated by the river Arauris or a line between the Arauris and Orbis. The chief town of the Tectosages was Tolosa (On further topographical links between the Tectosages in Gaul and those in Galatia see Mac Congail 2004, 171–176) and of the Arecomici, Nemausus (Nîmes) (Ptolemy, Geography II, 9). Their presence in this region is further attested to at the onset of the Second Punic War, when Livy describes the negotiations of the Volcae with the envoys of the Roman senate returning from Carthage where war had been decided on (Livy XXI, 20).

In relation to the Belgae presence in Asia Minor particularly relevant is the testimony of St. Jerome who states that in Galatia, the area populated by the descendants of those Celts participating in the expansion of the 3rd century B.C. into the region, the language spoken by the Galatians even in his time was very similar to that of the Treviri tribe who were also part of the Belgae confederation (Comm. On Galatians, II, 3: 'Galatas, excepto sermone Græco, quo omnis Oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem pene habere quam Treviros, nec referre si aliqua exinde corruperint'). One further important piece of information on the Treviri tribe is also given by Caesar who informs us that they were a fierce tribe, 'not much different from the Germani' (B.G., VIII, 25, 2: 'Labienum cum duabus legionibus in Treveros mittit, quorum civitas propter Germaniae vicinitatem cotidianis exercitata bellis cultu et feritate non multum a Germanis differebat neque imperata umquam nisi exercitu coacta faciebat'). The Treveri inhabited the lower valley of the Mosella within the southern fringes of the vast Arduenna Silva (Ardennes forest) The tribal capital of the Treveri tribe was Colonia, Augusta Treverorum (Trier, Germany), was later

the site of a Roman colony, and the provincial capital of Belgica itself. This close comparison of Celts and Germani is not only a Roman trait. Compare the words also of Strabo who informs us:

'Now the parts beyond the Rhenus, immediately after the country of the Celti, slope towards the east and are occupied by the Germani, who, though they vary slightly from the Celtic stock in that they are wilder, taller, and have yellow hair, are in all other respects similar, for in build, habits, and modes of life they are such as I have said the Celti are. And I also think that it was for this reason that the Romans assigned to them the name "Germani" as though they wished to indicate thereby that they were "genuine" Galatae, for in the language of the Romans "germani" means "genuine" (Strabo VII, 1, 2).

In the Balkan context, place-names in the Belgic areas of S. Britain and Belgic-Gaul appear to have strong parallels with the Celtic topographical traces on the Danube among the Scordisci and in north-eastern Thrace. In terms of Celtic placenames in this area, containing the same element as the settlements in Scordiscian territory – *Δοπίες* and *Olodoris* (Duridanov 1997, 143) the settlement Durostorum, today's Silistra, appears to carry a Celtic name (see Tomaschek II, 2, 73; Duridanov 1980, II, 5; Beševliev 1968, 422). This is particularly important as the element was obviously a common one among the Remi tribe – compare also – Durocortum, capital of the aforementioned (Belgic) Remi tribe (today's Reims) in Britain, cf. also: Duriarno (site uncertain but probably Plymouth – (RC 105.52); Durnouaria *Durotragum – Dorchester (Ai Itin. XIV); Durobriuis - Rochester (Ai Itin. II, III, IV; RC 106.37); Durocinto - Dorchester on Thames (RC 106.12); Duroleuo - Sittingbourne (Ai Itin. II, RC 108.37); Duroliponte - Cambridge (Ai Itin. V, RC 106.52) etc.

Further topographical traces of these Belgic tribes are to be ascertained in the Balkans and in Galatia in the aftermath of the Celtic expansion into the region. In Moesia Superior we find a further link in the capital of the region *Remesiana* (Itin. Ant.), *Ρεμεσιανά* (Hierokl. Synek.), *Romesiana* (Tab. Peut.) (see TOMASCHEK I, 90–91; TOMASCHEK II, 2, 69). Tomaschek first linked the name to the Belgic Remi tribe. This position is

echoed by academics such as Holder (II, 1904, 1116); Kazarov (1919, 61) and Beševliev (1968, 420). Duridanov comments that, 'Der name ist m.e. eine latenische Bildung auf -iana (vgl. die ONN Φλορεντιάνα, Longiana, Candidiana) von dem lat. Adj. Reme (n)- leitet zu schein scheint' (DURIDANOV 1997, 136). Lending weight to this is the presence in the same area of the Kastell Βριττουρα, which is 'certainly Celtic' according to Detschew (1957, 90).

Further: on the right bank of the Danube, between Ratiaria and Almus (today's village Orsoja) the Roman Station (mansio) Remetodia (Tab. Peut.) is mentioned by Duridanov (1997, 134) as a Celtic structure. In addition we find an area in eastern or central Haemus (Tab. Peut. VIII, 3) - Remesica. First identified by Miller (1916, 594) as, 'ein von keltischen Rimesii bewohnter Landstrich (Strategia)' who, in his opinion dwelt in the area between Naissus and Serdica (see TOMASCHEK I, 91; HOLDER II, 868; KAZAROW 1919, 67). The Belgic Remi tribe occupied the northern Plaine de Champagne on the southern fringes of the Ardennes (therefore neighbours of the aforementioned Treviri tribe) between the rivers Mosa (Meuse) and Matrona (Marne) with their capital at Durocortum ('But the most noteworthy of all the tribes in this region of Celtica is that of the Remi; their metropolis, Duricortora, is most thickly settled and is the city that entertains the Roman governors'; Strabo, IV, 3) There is, therefore, sufficient topographical evidence that the Belgic Remi tribe were one of the components of the Celtic force which expanded into the Balkans in the first quarter of the 3rd century B.C.

Besides the well documented Volcae Tectosages, a further Gallo-Belgic tribe mentioned in the Balkan context have been the abovementioned neighbours of the Remi in Gaul – the Meldi. Tomaschek (TOMASCHEK I, 91) mentions them in connection with the mansio Meldia. (Cass. Dio LI 25,4). In Pannonia, Pliny further mentions a town called Belgites (Pliny III, 148), providing additional evidence of the presence of the Belgae in the region. Of paramount importance in the present context, are the aforementioned Tectosages tribe. The testimony of Strabo makes the fact that they were Belgae even more crucial. He informs us clearly that the Tectosages tribe who crossed over into Gala-

tia, 'is named after the tribe in Celtica' (Strabo XII, 5, 1). They moved into Galatia along with two other tribes, the Trocmi and Tolistobogi (-boii) (Memnon XI, 6; Pliny V, 42) who we are informed are named after their leaders (Strabo VII, 5, 1). This would suggest that the Trocmi and Tolistobogi were not intact tribal units per se but probably made up of elements of different tribes and therefore took their titles from their leaders. Even more important is that all of these three groups displayed no ethnic or linguistic differences each other – 'All three spoke the same language and differed from each other in no respect' (Strabo VII, 5, 1). If the Trocmi and Tolistobogi differed in 'no respect' from the Tectosages then it logically follows that they were also Belgae. One may conclude with a degree of certainty that the Galatians were ethnically Belgic which leads to the logical conclusion, in combination with the topographic evidence outlined above, that the Celtic invasion force into South-Eastern Europe and Asia Minor, was comprised of tribes from this confederation.

How does this then fit in with the testimony (Polyaen VII, 4) that these Celts were descendants of those who had advanced into Italy a century earlier? The question remains whether the Celts who settled in Pannonia, as proved by archaeological material from LT B1 (DOMARADSKI 1984, 72) (beginning of the 4th century B.C.), came from the Po valley. Fortunately the Gaulish tribes who moved into Italy at this juncture are well documented. They crossed the Alps in several successive waves. Bellovesus, who directed the whole operation, had with him the Insubres tribe (Livy V, 34–35; Jullian CCXLVII, I) and was afterwards followed by the Cenomani under Elitovius (Livy V, 35, 2). Following them came the Libui and Saluvi, the Boii and Lingones (Livy V, 35, 2). The Senones arrived last and subsequently provided the army of about 30,000 which crossed the Appenines and took Rome (Livy V, 35, 2–3).

The effect of the terror on the Italian peninsula died hard and until the middle of the 4th century B.C., the Romans remained on the defensive. From that period on they began to turn on their enemies. Polybius tells us that at the first Roman attack the Gauls were so surprised that they stopped short and scattered

(Polyb. II, 18, 7) and peace seems to have been concluded around 335 BC (Polyb. XIX, 1). The general outcome had been that while Celtic inroads had penetrated to the end of Italy, their conquest stopped at the Appennines. Of these five main tribes who moved across the Alps we are informed that the Insubres, Cenomani, Boii, Lingones and Senones all came direct from a great distance – from the banks of the Rhine (App., Celt., I, 2; Prop. X, 10,19). In the time of Tarquin the Proud we are told that ‘Gaul was so fertile and populous that that the immense multitude threatened to be hard to rule. So the King, being old and wishing to relieve his kingdom of its excess population, declared that he would send his sister’s sons, Bellovesus and Sigovesus, who were energetic youths, to whatever country the Gods should indicate by omens, and they should take as many men as they wished, so that no people should be able to resist their advance. The omens assigned the Hercynian Forests to Sigovesus, and to the much more fortunate Bellovesus the road to Italy’ (Livy V, 34). Livy also gives us a list of the peoples among whom Bellovesus raised his army – namely the Bituriges, Averni, Senones, Aedui, Ambarri,

Carnutes, and Aulerci (Livy V, 34). Of all the tribes mentioned in the Italian expansion only the Boii tribe is specifically mentioned later in the Balkan context and they formed a separate entity from those Celts who expanded into the central and eastern Balkans and Asia Minor (Strabo VII, 2, 2; VII, 3, 2; VII, 3, 11).

Many archaeologists, based on the available archaeological data, believe that there was another, more important wave of Celtic expansion coming directly from the west and north-west (see DOMARADSKI 1984,72). The lack of evidence for the main tribes who took part in the invasion of Italy and the presence of traces of (Belgic) tribes, particularly the Remi and Tectosages, in the Balkans and Asia Minor in the aftermath of the invasion of the 3rd century B.C. militates in favour of this theory. It also appears that, unlike those which had expanded across the Alps, the expansion into the Balkans was not made up of whole tribes but smaller client-tribes. All indications are that although the ‘Italian expedition’ mainly consisted of Gaulish tribes, the eastern expansion during the later period was composed of forces which had among them a dominant Belgae element.

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Hoard, Caravans and Illyrians: Wealth Accumulation in Antiquity

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Съкровища, кервани и Илири: натрупването на богатства през древността

Статията представя етноархеологически подход към данните за натрупването на богатство, като за целта са разгледани организациите на керванжидите и техните пътища в южните райони на Балканите през XIX и началото на XX век.

Големи богатства са откривани в териториите, приписвани на Илирите, Траките и Даките и често се свързват с гробове на аристокрацията или с царски съкровища. Твърде е вероятно те да са принадлежали на местен вожда, който е могъл да контролира важните търговски пътища.

The purpose of this paper is to attempt an ethnohistorical approach to wealth accumulation based on observable, dynamic behavior of living people in order to better interpret the archeological remains of wealth. The laboratory selected for this purpose is focused on the caravan organizers and their routes in the southwest territory of the Balkans during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Rich hoards have been found in the territories associated with the Illyrians, Thracians and Dacians and are often associated with princely graves or royal hoards. We believe that often these hoards belonged to bigmen who controlled important trade nodes. Special attention is given here to the Illyrian state which existed in antiquity and the relationship between its coastal communities and the hinterland. It is our belief that this model with further elaboration in Thrace and Dacia also could help explain the presence of so many rich hoards from antiquity.¹

Population movements in southeastern Europe, past and present, have been a major concern of scholars from the Balkan lands since before World War I, when studies of the ethnographic material relating to individual groups and their settlement patterns received great attention.

For the areas of Serbia and Montenegro three scholars stand out in the first decades of the

20th century: Jovan Cvijić, Jovan Erdeljanović and Sima Trojanović. Of special interest to this paper is the relationship between the caravan networks and routes used to bring people, animals and trade goods to and from the main trade distribution centers in Serbia and the neighboring territories.

In a detailed account of the caravan trade existing in Serbia at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries, Sima Trojanović presented a picture of the *kiridjije* (caravan organizers) and their trade systems. He traced the historical records of caravanning from the medieval period up to the time of his writing in the early 20th century, taking note of the goods, the distances, the routes and noting as well the detailed lexicon relating to this profession. His fiscal statistics of the year 1901, for example, indicate exactly what was being transported and what was being received in return. This is of special significance as the products and raw materials represent the same or similar types of goods that we believe to have been traded from the earliest times, i.e., prehistory.²

After defining the specific terms used to describe caravanning³ and its organization, the author outlines the geographical areas associated with caravanning, i.e., in Serbia the areas of Užice and Čačak; in Bosnia, the area of Glasinac, in Hercegovina, the regions of Neves-

¹ Parts of this research was the result of my 1989 dissertation: *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Reification, Continuity and Interpretation*. This paper was first submitted in late 1992, but various changes and funding have made it

wait until 2007 for publication.

² PETRIĆ 1980, 21-42.

³ TROJANOVIĆ 1909, 5-18.

inje and Gacko, and in Montenegro, the area around Pljevlja. These are not the only areas or trade centers to where goods were funneled and then redistributed, notably also there was Novi Pazar in Kosovo, which served as a hub for caravan trade well into the 20th century. However, by the end of the 19th century, the importance of caravanning diminished with the emergence of towns with alternate transportation and redistribution networks including the railroads being built in Bosnia and Hercegovina by the Austrians.

Trojanović points out some interesting facts, e.g., that in Montenegro wagons played a very small role in transportation because of the rugged terrain.⁴ In the region of Kosovo, the town of Prizren was very important as a distribution point for the entering caravans from the southern and the eastern Balkans. Here, goods were exchanged and trans-shipped to new destinations, some as far away as Trieste.⁵ The sheep from the Kosovo foothills of the Sar mountain were highly esteemed, both for their meat as well as their wool and they were exported as far as Constantinople for the religious feasts—a trip that took two months or longer, before the caravan moved on toward Bursa.

In the Middle Ages the primary caravan routes in Serbia and Bosnia were used for the transporting of ores—silver, gold and lead. These routes connected the interior of the Balkans with the Adriatic coastal towns that manufactured and exported the newly-made metal products. Bitumen was added to these cargos early in the 16th century as a commodity highly prized for use in sealing the hulls of ships. In the year 1503 no less than 1,650 loads of bitumen were brought to Dubrovnik in 15 days. The interior lands of the Balkans were famous for milk products, especially cheese, cured meats, wheat and other grains. Wool, sheep, goat and water buffalo hides from these areas were also in demand, and moved to the coast by caravan. On the return trip, the caravan merchants transported salt, sugar, wine, dried fish, black pepper, and various furs such as sable for headgear and lynx for lining. They also brought cloth, metal goods, arms decorated with silver

and gold, axes, horse trappings, jewelry, glass vessels, mirrors, perfumes, an assortment of spices etc. These transactions were all carried out within the scope of a barter economy.

Trojanović also gives us important information about the method of outfitting the pack horses and mules. He states that the liquids were transported in leather bags, so constructed as to cause no friction when they hung across the backs of the animals.

In addition to the information on the caravan routes themselves, Trojanović gives us reliable statistical data on the overall activities of these caravans in different "districts" (srez) in the early 20th century. One of the important gathering centers, where the caravans met, collected and redistributed goods was Novi Pazar in Kosovo through which passed the caravans moving from Skopje, Macedonia to Sarajevo, Bosnia, bringing tobacco, rice, sugar and okra from Macedonia that were traded for iron tools and goods such as horseshoes, ploughs, pots and pans, scythes and sometimes blankets from Bosnia. While most of the iron goods from Sarajevo went directly to Skopje, some were retained and redistributed in Novi Pazar.

The caravans from the Užički and Čačanski areas were especially well documented for the first decade of the 20th century.⁶ The following figures give an indication of the quantity of goods exchanged and weight in relationship to the number of drivers and animals used to transport it. In 1901 in the Stari Vlah (Moravski district) there were 97 caravan drivers with 184 horses who exported 3,425 kg. of curd (*kajmak*), 17,200 kg. of cheese, 720 kg. of cured meats, 16,450 kg. of potatoes, 21,850 kg. of tar, 8,300 kg. of pine kindling wood (*Pinus nigra*), 11,970 kg. of apples, 2,100 kg. of alder bark for hide tanning, earthen ware 8,240 kg. and 23,940 kg. of plum brandy. The route followed was from Vranje, Pirot, Paraćin, Valjevo to Kragujevac, Belgrade and Smederevo. The frequency of trips was between 2 and 7 times per year to Belgrade, 12 times to Niš, 2-4 times to Pirot, 7 times to Paraćin, 9-15 times to Valjevo, and 3-4 times to Vranje.

In the area of Užice there was a total of 76

⁴ TROJANOVIĆ 1909, 23.

⁵ TROJANOVIĆ 1909, 23.

⁶ TROJANOVIĆ 1909, 23.

caravan drivers with 130 horses. Most of these drivers owned only a single horse, although some had more, but none more than four. They transported 6,695 earthen pots, 2,101 earthen dishes for baking bread, 2,900 kg. of beans, 7,640 kg. of tar, 900 kg. of pine kindling wood, 320 kg. of cured beef and 1,600 kg. bacon. The trip to Belgrade took 6 days, to Sabac 4 or 5 days, and to Kragujevac 4 days.

This inventory of goods transported by the caravans illustrates the kinds, intensity and great quantities moved from one area to another. If we extrapolate the merchandise of modern origin, e.g., glass, potatoes, etc. we still find products that would have been of great interest to the Greek merchants who cultivated trade with the interior of the Balkans as witnessed by the rich finds from the so-called princely graves. Let us now look at the routes that these caravan drivers followed.

In describing the caravan routes, Trojanović concentrated on southwestern Serbia in the area around Novi Pazar on the Raška river, which is a tributary of the Ibar river. In earlier times it was the administrative and cultural center of Sandžak, an important point on the route from Dubrovnik to Niš. However, following the construction of the railroad after World War I, Novi Pazar began to lose its role as a trading center.

The three main routes that Trojanović noted from Novi Pazar crossed the Ibar river by ferry and went over the Kopaonik mountain to the east. This is one of the highest mountains in Serbia, extending in a north-south direction for about 100 km., separating Novi Pazar from the Morava valley. After crossing the Kopaonik mountain, the caravans proceeded to Kuršumlije, Prokuplje, Niš and continued on to Sofia, Plovdiv and finally Constantinople. Other caravans, especially from Sarajevo, went south from Novi Pazar over the Rogozna mountain which is part of the Dinaric range and especially grazed by seasonal pastoralists. They continued to Banjska, Kosovska Mitrovica, Vučitrn, Priština, Skopje and sometimes to Thessaloni-

ca. The route from Novi Pazar to Sarajevo went northwest via Sjenica, Nova Varoš, and Priboj and, crossing the Drina at Višegrad, continued to Glasinac, Romanija, Breze and finally Sarajevo. The farthest east for the Sarajevo caravans was the town of Pirot which is to the east of Niš on the way to Sofia.

In the medieval period Dubrovnik was an important trading and distribution center for goods into the hinterland. One of the important routes that connected the coast with southern Serbia went from Dubrovnik, over Drijen to Trebinje, to Bileća, Gacko, Foča, then either to Višegrad and joining the previously described route to Novi Pazar, or from Foča, Plevlje, Prijepolje, Sjenice, to Novi Pazar.⁷

The importance of these routes lies in the fact that they represent a trade network that extended throughout the central Balkans, effectively connecting Greece, Bulgaria and even Turkey with the central and western Balkans and the Adriatic coast by a land route. In addition to the transport of significant quantities of goods by a rather small but efficient network with limited technology available, the time involved to move the goods was relatively short. For example, it only took eleven days from Pirot in eastern Serbia to Sarajevo – a distance of about 350 km. as the crow flies. However, the fact remains that trade was and could be conducted with an intensification that brought peoples, goods and news together in a timely manner. Alternatively, while routes of this trade network were not the most efficient for the expedition of armies, they were very efficient both in time and energy for the transport of goods.

Many of the rich archeological finds, especially the so-called princely graves that have been discovered in the southwest Balkans and dated to the middle of the 6th-5th centuries B.C. lying along these caravan routes do not, in our opinion represent, an aristocracy or tribal leadership but rather important tradesmen or controllers of trade nodes.⁸ These trade routes, later used as caravan routes, traversed the mountain ranges of the Balkans in contradistinction to the

⁷ PALAVESTRA 1994, 93-4.

⁸ See VASIĆ (1975, 90) for discussion of Illyrian helmet in Donja Dolina and trade routes. According to KURZ (1967, 184) coins from Apollonia and Dyrrhachium were recovered in the interior near Konjic on the Neretva river.

The Neretva river valley has always been an important communication route, even in prehistory. Witness the Neolithic penetration of the Impresso complex into the interior of Hercegovina along the Neretva river, (PAROVIĆ-PEŠIKAN 1982, 25-51), esp. map on p. 45.

roads the Romans built that followed mostly the river banks and valleys. Rest areas, called *han* by the Turks, were provided for the weary traveller along these caravan routes. We would posit that many of the smaller "fortified" mountain settlements represent this type of occupation site and not a *refugium* against the threat of war. This is underscored by the fact that many of these "fortified" hill forts have no direct access to water in the fortified area and this must have been a major concern in choosing construction sites.

However, it must be remembered that peaceful conditions were needed in order for trade to exist and prosper, as witnessed by the conditions today in the former Yugoslavia. The perception that Bronze and Iron Age men were at each others' throats is not borne out by the archeological evidence. Despite the predilection for weapons in the graves, these were personal possessions and did not necessarily reflect weapon use in conflict, as most of the weapons in burial contexts were unused.

It is noteworthy also to keep in mind the interaction between peoples of the coastal areas and the mountainous hinterland. This is where

we should look for the first Illyrians.⁹ It was the establishment of the poleis along the coast—e.g., Dyrrhachium,¹⁰ Apollonia¹¹—that acted as the catalyst for the establishment of the Illyrian state under Bardylis. The interaction that took place was a process of *autarkia* between the mountainous areas and the coastal zone, but it must be remembered there was no coercive power that the coastal area could impose on the interior territory. The relationship may be described as one of mutual need – as long as it persisted.

However, the mountain seasonal pastoralist was in a far better position to assert his independence than the coastal resident. A good example of this is the situation in Montenegro subsequent to the disintegration of the Serbian state in the 14th century after its defeat at the hands of the Turks. Following the battle of Kosovo many of the Serbs retreated into the Montenegrin hills and continued to practice the pastoral ways of their forefathers. The Turks established a wise policy of interaction with these clannish semi-nomad transhumant shepherds who, in return for nominal respect, were al-

⁹ CASSON (1926) for an overall account of Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria. Out of date in many respects but still handy (STERUD 1978, 381-408).

¹⁰ KATIČIĆ (1973, 196 ff) for the relation between Dyrrhachium and Ionios. Dyrrhachium was founded in 627 B.C. and Apollonia in 588 B.C. TOÇI (1973; 1976, 301-306) notes the ties between Dyrrhachium and the hinterland and the growth of the town in the 5th century B.C. 302.

¹¹ MANO (1976a, 307-318) notes the presence of Corinthian wares in Apollonia and also indicates the intensification of ties with the interior in the middle of the 5th century B.C. The distribution of staters and drachmas is evidence of this trade activity. The author also notes that at Dimale the pottery distribution was as follows: 40% local, 40-50% from Apollonian workshops and 10-15% from Greek and Italian workshops (MANO 1976a, 312). See map on p. 313 for the distribution of the finds in the interior, even extending to the north to Gajtan and Lissos as well as in the tumuli at Çinmaku. MANO (1973, 185-94; 1976a, 119-124) connects the extension of the road system in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. to the phenomenon of urbanization in Southern Illyria (MANO 1976a, 124). The maps on 42 and 43 in PAROVIĆ-PEŠIKAN (1961, 21-45) indicate the distribution of drachmas from Apollonia and Dyrrhachium in the interior of the Balkans. Regarding the formation of urban centers on the eastern coast of the Adriatic see: SUIĆ (1976a, 357-366; 1976b, 9-81). Notes different criteria for classifying urban agglomerations based on, e.g., geomorphological and social conditions. The end of the 4th century B.C. begins the second phase of Illyrian urban life according to the author, e.g., Buthrotos, Apollonia, Amantia (ISLAMI

1976a, 107-112). At this time we have the appearance of ashler construction (ANAMALI 1972, 67-148. *esp.* 115-120). See DAUTAJ (1972, 149-165) for the relationship between Dimale and the other Illyrian cities, e.g., Byllis see p. 156. See for Lissos and its fortifications PRENDI/ZHEKU (1972, 239-268), the differentiation between phases I and II appear somewhat arbitrary. See M. GARAŠANIN (1967, 27-34). The earlier polygonal construction has been called *Mænia Æacia* by Garašanin in the area of Montenegro. CEKA (1985, 137-161) notes that the so-called protourban period is not an Illyrian phenomenon, rather it covers the Mediterranean world from the 8th-5th centuries B.C. (CEKA 1985, 142). He also does not consider the striking of coins to be a decisive factor for the categorization of an urban center (CEKA 1985, 143). Accepts Islami's chronology with the first phase of urban development lasting from the middle of the 5th century to the beginning of the 3rd century B.C., e.g., Amantia, Dorëz and Buthroton. Amantia is noted as a *polis* in the ancient sources. The second phase of the true urban center is in the first half of the 4th century B.C., e.g., Buthroton III, Çukë Ajtojt and Gurzezë (CEKA 1985, 145 with literature). The third phase belongs to the second half of the 4th century, e.g., Byllis, Berat, Shkodër, Rizon etc. The fourth phase belongs to the first thirty years of the 3rd century B.C., e.g., Antigonea and Lissos, Metheon, Ulcinj etc. Construction appears to end towards the year 270 B.C., after this time the urban agglomeration takes on a new relationship to fortification and space usage (CEKA 1985, 148). Also CEKA (1985a, 27-58; 1986, 49-84). See MARIĆ (1973, 109-135; 1985, 47-53) SUIĆ (1981, 117-138) for the situation in the northern Adriatic.

lowed to live a relatively autonomous life. These clans had their own customary laws that regulated the lifeways of the society, and to a large degree were not interfered with by the Turks. This balance in their relationship lasted into the early 19th century when Archbishop Petar Petrović Njegoš "unified" the Montenegrin tribes. However, it is significant to note that the choice of a secular state under the nominal authority of the Orthodox church in no way conflicted with the customary laws of the clans. More importantly the *vladika* (archbishop) had no military authority to enforce his will, merely the threat of excommunication—a threat that was real enough to hold the tribes in check until 1851 when the first Montenegrin state was formed under Prince Danilo.

The antiquity of this social organization of the semi-nomadic transhumant is, we maintain, an institution that existed prior to the arrival of the Indo-Europeans, as is attested to certainly by the time of the first movements of the pastoralists into the south central Adriatic and western Balkan area.¹²

In conclusion, the social structure of the Illyrians, the early Serbian state, and the Montenegrin state all had several things in common: the integration of the hinterland with the coastal areas, the lack of real military force to enforce the internal social structure, and the ultimate return to the hills upon the collapse of the "state" institutions. Actually these "states"—the Illyrian, the early Serbian and the Montenegrin—were not states such as those used by ancient authors, comparing them to (the Greek *polis* or Roman *civitas*, the Byzantine Empire or the Turkish Empire). Rather the "states" were a weak symbiotic association connecting the hin-

terland pastoralist and the coastal traders, with only limited use of agriculture because of the scarcity of arable land.

The main reason for the stability of the extended household clan (as can be seen among pastoralists) is also the reason for weakness of a social organization designed to establish a higher moral authority than the clan organization itself. This is well illustrated by the Illyrian Queen Teuta's statement to the Roman ambassadors, in which she professed her lack of control over the affairs of her subjects, as well as the quick defeat of Genthius,¹³ and the relatively swift end to the Serbian state in the 14th century.¹⁴

We are not evaluating the relative strength of the opponents that these "states" faced, but rather attempting to understand the disappearance of their state infrastructure. The latter occurrence appears normal when one remembers that the ultimate allegiance of pastoralists is not to a "state" but instead to of extended household, village or clan. The Illyrian state, referred to in the ancient sources, is not a kingdom but rather an inchoate chiefdom led by a charismatic leader, which, for a period of several hundred years, was able to grow into a mature chieftainship. However, when subjected to the first real test Genthius' internal alliances collapsed, and the relationship returned to the dichotomy of the pastoralist and the sedentary coastal communities.

In summary, the perception of the Illyrian state¹⁵ as some governmental structure controlling large territories and diverse populations is an illusion in conflict with the ethnographic, historical and archeological material. In effect the Illyrian "state" in all its forms existed along the coast of modern day Albania, exerting only nominal control over the affairs of the hinter-

¹² GARAŠANIN 1977, 37-42; 1994, 7-18. JACOBSEN 1984, 27-43; 1985, 91-107; HAMMOND 1976; 1983. GRIFFITH (1989) discusses the role of transhumance in identifying the area inhabited by the Enienes and their chief Gouneus as mentioned in Homeric in the Catalogue of Ships. "The Homeric Gouneus provides the first instance of transhumance to be documented in literature" (GRIFFITH 1989, 243).

¹³ WALBANK 1976, 271 f. STIPČEVIĆ (1974, 48-60) presents an outdated survey of the Illyrians in their protohistoric context. The historical sources are described in an orthodox fashion. However, the extent of the Illyrians and their culture is far beyond what we would consider prudent based on the archaeological information available today. See also STIPČEVIĆ (1977) for translation of above.

¹⁴ ISTORIJA SRPSKOG NARODA 1982, 36-74.

¹⁵ HADRI 1976, 273-276. Disputes M. Garašanin regarding the conception of the Illyrian "state" as opposed to the concept of a tribal confederation. GARAŠANIN (1980, 207-210). Rejoinder to the above article by Hadri. See BEŠIĆ ET AL. (1967, 104-133). Contrary opinion is presented by Papazoglu who argues for the existence of an Illyrian state regardless of the presence of different tribes. ZHEKU (1977-1978, 113-123) typologizes the proto-urban fortification sites in Albania. He differentiates between the earlier polygonal dry wall technique and the later ashler form of construction. The earlier walls would be from, e.g., Gajtan, Acrolissos and the later from, e.g., Lissos II. PAPAOGLOU (1965, 123-145) concludes that the ancient authors accepted the existence of the Illyrian kingdom from the end of the 5th century B.C. until its demise in 168 B.C. (PAPAOGLOU 1965, 145).

land. The extensive archeological correlations that exist in the south central Adriatic and the western Balkan expanse are the result of the seasonal pastoralist movements and the later trade networks developed by the Greeks after their expulsion from the western Mediterranean in

the mid 6th century B.C. Thus, while the Illyrian state was trying to control and engender a spirit of common consciousness, something in which they were singularly unsuccessful in antiquity, the Illyrian ethnos as a sociological entity simply disappeared.

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